

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

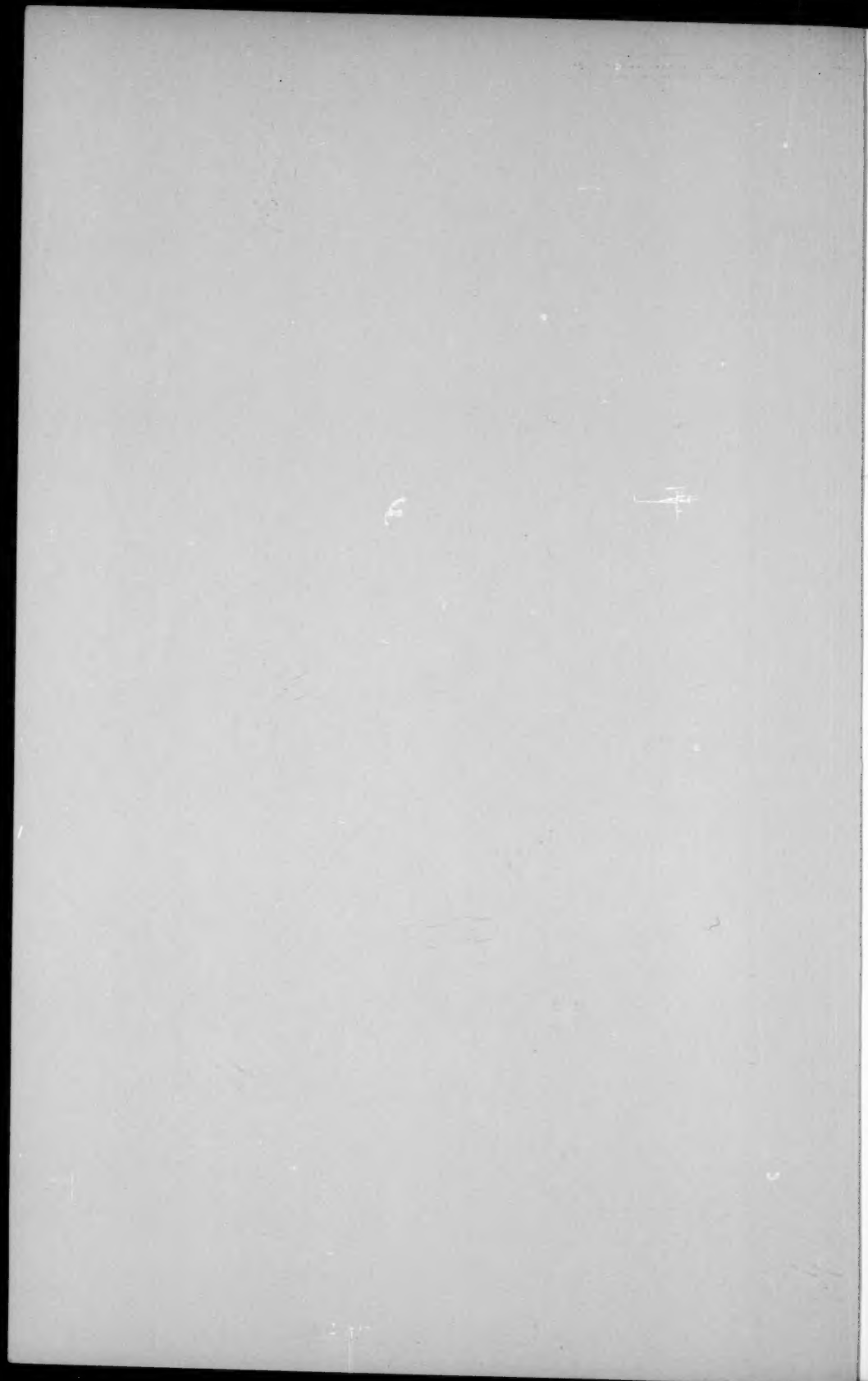


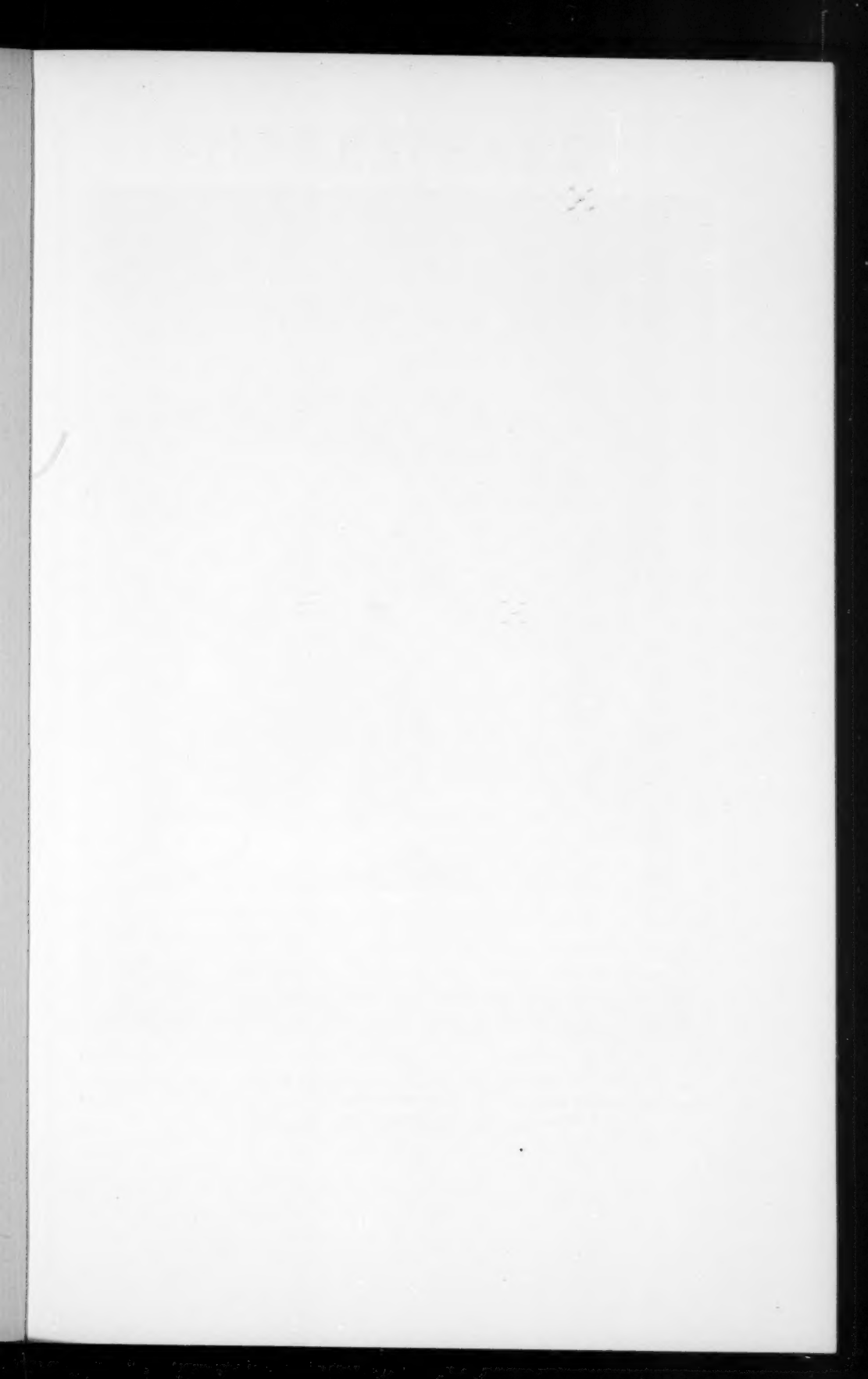
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Charles Macklin—theatrical cartoon. A savage attack upon Macklin, anonymous and undated, but possibly issued in 1773, when he was very unpopular with London audiences. From the Folger Shakespeare Library copy. See p. 497.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

Charles Macklin—Theatrical Cartoon	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Staging at the Globe, 1599-1613	J. W. Saunders 401
Wear and Tear as Factors in the Textual History of the Quarto Version of <i>King Lear</i>	Joseph S. G. Bolton 427
The "Cinna" and "Cynicke" Episodes in <i>Julius Caesar</i>	N. N. Holland 439
The 1960 Season at Stratford-upon-Avon	Robert Speaight 445
Artistic Success in Canada	Arnold Edinborough 455
Shakespeare in the Rockies: III	Robert L. Perkin 461
The Season in New York	Alice Griffin 467
Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival, 1960	Claire McGlinchey 469
The Fourth Annual Phoenix Shakespeare Festival	Jerry H. Bryant and James Yeater 473
Shakespeare in Oregon—1960	Robert D. Horn 477

REVIEWS:

G. K. Hunter, ed.: <i>All's Well</i> (Arden) (F. S. Hook)	481
Harry Levin: <i>The Question of Hamlet</i> (J. L. Barroll)	483
Folger Shakespeare Library: <i>Booklets</i> (Waveney R. N. Payne)	484
Margaret E. Atkinson: <i>A. W. Schlegel, as a Translator of Shakespeare</i> (A. J. Prah)	485
Sydney R. Beck, ed.: <i>The First Book of Consort Lessons</i> (E. N. Waters)	486
E. J. Dobson: <i>English Pronunciation 1500-1700</i> (Bror Danielsson)	488
QUERIES AND NOTES	490
NOTES AND COMMENTS	497
CORRESPONDENCE	499
CONTRIBUTORS	500

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Staging at the Globe, 1599-1613

J. W. SAUNDERS

OW many entrances had the Globe stage? Was the curtained enclosure a recess, a booth, a mansion, or a property? Was the upper level a gallery, a tarras, a chamber, or a window? Fifty years ago we might have given confident answers to these fundamental questions; but the more we have learned about the Elizabethan playhouse, the less sure we seem to be. It is my purpose in this paper to explore a way out of the present position of scholarly stalemate by outlining certain principles, about which some general agreement may be achieved, and then applying them to a reexamination of the basic problems.

As a first principle, I would suggest that, as far as possible, *each investigation should be limited to the plays of one theatre at a time*. Since other evidence is so scanty, we are forced to rely a great deal upon the internal evidence of the plays; but we ought not to assume that all plays, or even all the plays of one playwright, are of equal value. Many plays were produced in several different theatres, and there is no way of discovering which pieces of internal evidence apply to which playhouse. There were wide divergences between house and house. Some theatres were circular, some rectangular, some octagonal; some had fixed stages, others had stages removeable for animal shows; some were adapted from inn-yards, others from archery butts or tennis courts; some housed only a few hundred spectators, while others held nearly three thousand; and the private houses were artificially lit, while the public houses were open to the sun. Different physical environments created different staging conditions and practices.

For my own purposes I have selected the first Globe (1599-1613). We cannot have a complete list of the plays produced there, or in any theatre. There are relatively few plays which we can certainly identify as Globe plays, and even these exist only in "corrupt" texts. I make use of terms like "corruption" in a different sense from the bibliographers: a "bad Quarto", in their sense, may be a good text for the historian of the stage, if it reflects accurately the staging practices of only one theatre. Unfortunately, very few texts are really "good"; the best that we can do is to identify texts which embody the staging practices of only the one public playhouse, plays which, for instance, were played at the Globe but never at the Fortune or the Swan. Even these texts will be corrupted by directions deriving from performances in other theatres where the King's Men regularly appeared. Shakespeare's company, like the others, took their plays to Court or on tour in the provinces; after 1609 they occupied a private theatre, the Blackfriars; in 1614 the Globe was rebuilt after the fire in the previous year. Even "good" texts, then, to an important extent are impure. But neither Shakespeare nor any other Globe dramatist is likely to have written for his company

a text which required substantial modification when it was taken to the Blackfriars or, at short notice, to Court or on tour; acting texts were omnibus texts, suitable in the main for all occasions. Thus, if we can establish a list of plays confined to the one company, we shall be able to rely, taking a reasonable risk, on the internal evidence they provide about the staging practices of one public playhouse.

Sir Edmund Chambers has provided a list with which we can work.¹ Apart from Leslie Hotson's suggestion that the first performances of *Henry V* were given at the Curtain, rather than the Globe,² the list is still sound. In it 39 plays are divided into four groups, of differing value, which I shall call A, B, C and D.

GROUP A

Plays produced at the first Globe between 1599 and 1609, that is, before the opening of the Blackfriars, which survive in printed texts dating from the same period (I give the date only of first publication, irrespective of the merit placed upon the edition by bibliographers):

Shakespeare's *Henry V* (Q 1600), *Much Ado about Nothing* (Q 1600), *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Q 1602), *Hamlet* (Q 1603), *King Lear* (Q 1608), *Troilus and Cressida* (Q 1609) and *Pericles* (Q 1609); Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (Q 1600), *Sejanus* (Q 1605) and *Volpone* (Q 1605); Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter* (Q 1607); Cyril Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (Q 1607); George Wilkins' *The Miserie of Enforced Marriage* (Q 1607); and the anonymous plays, *The London Prodigal* (Q 1605), *The Fair Maid of Bristow* (Q 1605), *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (Q 1608) and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (Q 1608).

GROUP B

Plays produced at the Globe between 1609 and 1613, while the first Globe and Blackfriars were both in use, and printed in texts of the same period or preserved in manuscripts from the period:

Chapman's *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (MS 1611); Jonson's *Catiline* (Q 1611) and *The Alchemist* (Q 1612).

GROUP C

Plays produced at the Globe between 1599 and 1609 but surviving in texts published in 1622 or 1623, and liable therefore to incorporate modifications from productions at the Blackfriars or second Globe:

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (F 1623), *Twelfth Night* (F 1623), *As You Like It* (F 1623), *All's Well that Ends Well* (F 1623), *Measure for Measure* (F 1623), *Othello* (Q 1622), *Macbeth* (F 1623), *Coriolanus* (F 1623), *Antony and Cleopatra* (F 1623) and *Timon of Athens* (F 1623).

GROUP D

Plays produced at the Globe, and probably the Blackfriars too, between 1609 and 1613, which survive in texts printed at various dates from 1619 to 1634:

Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (F 1623), *The Winter's Tale* (F 1623), *The Tempest* (F 1623) and *Henry VIII* (F 1623); Beaumont and Fletcher's *The*

¹ *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), III, 105.

² *The Times* (London), March 26, 1954, p. 7.

Maid's Tragedy (Q 1619), *A King and no King* (Q 1619) and *Philaster* (Q 1620); Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (Q 1623) and the anonymous play, *Two Noble Kinsmen* (Q 1634).

In the following pages I record by each quotation the date of the text from which it is taken, and seek to give precedence to A plays over B, C and D, to B over C and D, and to C over D.

A second principle: *it is preferable to make deductions from the staging necessities inferred from the action of the play rather than from textual references to parts of the stage.* Stage-directions may be misleading, incomplete and irregular, not entirely to be trusted, but these are more reliable than casual references in the dialogue, which may be entirely metaphorical. Too many scholars have been led into error by their excitement over casual references. When Feste is ragging Malvolio (*Twelfth Night* IV.ii, C 1623 F), his reference to "the cleere stores toward the South north . . . as lustrous as Ebony" makes better fun as nonsense than, *pace* Leslie Hotson, as an allusion to the windows of Whitehall; similarly, his "bay Windowes transparant as baricadoes" are hardly descriptive, *pace* John Cranford Adams, of the Globe Window-Stages. When Falstaff says (*Merry Wives of Windsor* II.ii, A 1602 Q) "you might a looked thorow a grate like a geminy of babones", there is no need to conclude that he could not have made this remark without a grille on the stage to exemplify his allusion. Even when we are told (*The Second Maiden's Tragedy* II.ii, B 1611 MS), that the "waye to chambringe" lay "vp yo'n staires", there need be no stairs or chamber visible: Elizabethan plays are full of local atmosphere, imaginative references to localities offstage. Too much respect for the letter of the text leads the investigator into absurdities, reducing him to looking for a lake on stage for Mariana's "moated-Grange" (*Measure for Measure* IV.i, C 1623 F), or for somewhere to tether a horse—"Enter Husband as being thrown off his horse, And falls" (*A Yorkshire Tragedy*, scene 8, A 1608 Q). In these pages, then, I shall try to apply common sense in answering these questions: What are the minimum requirements for this scene? How simplest may this scene be staged? What staging feature is inescapable here?

Sometimes it may not be quite fair to look for minima and simplicity. With Shakespeare we are on strong ground: he was sincerely reluctant to disgrace the name of Agincourt, or anything else, with too many ragged foils and other theatricals. No other dramatist exploited less the machinery and architecture of his theatre, made less use, for instance, of the upper stage.⁸ One of the first plays he wrote for the new Globe, *Much Ado about Nothing*, and one of the first he wrote after the opening of the Blackfriars, *The Winter's Tale*, are marked by a staging simplicity that would not tax the barest innyard stage. In contrast, Ben Jonson, while avoiding melodramatic spectacle, plays with the new theatre like a child with a new toy, and fills *Every Man out of his Humour* with delighted references to the different parts of the "thronged round". And lesser dramatists, like Barnabe Barnes, seem to go out of their way to complicate the scene that they present. Some allowance must be made for these temperamental differences, but, in general, an argument based logically upon minimum necessities carries best conviction.

A third, and tolerant, principle: *different solutions for staging problems are not necessarily exclusive, and all scenes of a like kind need not be forced into the*

⁸ Vide Richard Hosley's paper in *Shakespeare Survey* 10 (1957).

same setting. I cannot see why, for instance, Elizabethan stages might not have employed two different kinds of enclosure, of different sizes, a tent and a room. Because the prison scenes in *Two Noble Kinsmen* II. i and II. ii (1634 Q, very much a D text), certainly take place on the upper stage, why must we assume that all prison scenes elsewhere were similarly staged, although Posthumus' prison in *Cymbeline* and Claudio's prison in *Measure for Measure*, were certainly staged on the Platform, and the direction "Enter . . . in prison" may imply nothing more than a player's entrance in chains? The Elizabethans were essentially pragmatic and empirical in their approach to staging problems, and our attempt to find uniform laws in *ad hoc* procedures has led to all kinds of fallacies, including Thorndike's "principle of alternation". Uniformity for its own sake was not a virtue which appealed to minds accustomed to adapt themselves, in all walks of life, to immediate exigencies rather than to long-term convenience.

Most of the stage historians have been prone to this error. Cranford Adams, for instance, persistently exaggerated the importance of acting areas at the rear of the Platform, leading him ultimately to the curious statement that "in the plays written between 1599 and 1610 Shakespeare mounts 43% of all his scenes on the outer-stage alone. If one adds those other scenes in which the outer-stage is used in combination with another stage, the total mounts close to 55%. These figures attest the importance of the platform in the greatest period of English drama".⁴ In other words, 45% of the scenes did not use the Platform at all. It is incredible that any producer should set so much action at the rear of the stage, impossible that the great stage of the Globe, a thousand square feet of it, was left empty for nearly half the action. I estimate myself that, of 819 scenes in the 39 named plays, a minimum of 485 (very nearly 60%) were played on the Platform alone, without bringing into the action the upper stage or an enclosure, that at least 746 were based upon Platform staging, with some ancillary use of other stages, and that at most some 73, less than 9%, most of them quite short, had no use for the Platform. The Platform, situated centrally in the amphitheatre, ought to have been by far the most important acting area, if natural laws of the theatre apply, but it has been very tempting for stage-historians (Adams is merely the latest to be tempted) to conclude that if one scene in a play, or one scene of a certain setting, requires an "inner stage", then others, in the same play or of a like kind, must have been staged there also. And others have made different mistakes. Those who have advocated booth-stages for the curtained enclosures have rested their case too rigidly on the drawing of the Swan associated with De Witt, in which no recess is shown. But this drawing also depicts only two doors onto the stage, one of which must have been reserved, with a Booth erected, for the installation of properties to be "discovered" there, and the one remaining Stage-Door would have been inadequate for all the other purposes of the play. But if one assumes an error in the De Witt drawing, and permits a third means of access to the stage, why not accept a recess, with a third door in its rear? Similarly, it would seem that Leslie Hotson's case for "mansions", which has yet to be fully documented,^{4a} depends upon the fallacious

⁴ *SQ*, II, 3-11.

^{4a} *Shakespeare's Wooden O* appeared too late for consideration by the author.—Ed.

assumption that the stages at Whitehall and Bankside were alike in most respects, whereas it is just as likely that the Globe had certain natural advantages, Window-Stages for instance, which had to be compensated for at Court. No one theory, then, need be entirely independent and exclusive, and a certain flexibility of approach is a major *desideratum* in a stage historian.

Above all, we ought to remember that *the design of an Elizabethan playhouse was determined less by rational choice than by the accumulation of traditions*. There was no architect to determine the best structure for the purpose. Every theatre is a patchwork quilt, made up of bits and pieces from the Miracle arenas, the Mystery pageants, the mountebank scaffolds, the innyards, the animal rings, the Court halls, from any place in short which had been used for drama in the previous hundred years. It follows that if we propose any particular feature as part of the Globe stage, we ought to be able to explain how it got there. In other words, the feature was used because it was there, rather than there because it was useful. If we believe that the stage had a bay-window, we ought to explain how a window came to be built into a gallery, and if we believe that tents had workable doors, then we ought to demonstrate how structures so small and slight acquired such a sizable addition.

I propose now to reexamine, in the light of these basic principles, the fundamental staging problems, the questions of access, of the enclosure, and of the upper stage, together with one relatively minor problem, that of the "penthouses" and "hedge corners".

I. ACCESS.

How many doors were there? Within the same play one may find stage-directions which specify only two doors:

Henry V, V.ii (A 1600 Q): Enter at one doore, the King of England. . .
And at the other doore, the King of France. . .

Pericles IV.iii (A 1609 Q): Enter Pericles at one doore, with all his trayne, Cleon and Dioniza at the other.

and directions which suggest an indefinite number:

Henry V, V.ii (at the same point as in the direction above, but in the 1623 F): Enter at one doore, King Henry. . . At another, Queene Isabel, the King. . .

Pericles II. Prol. (in the same text as the direction above): Enter at one doore Pericles talking with Cleon, all the traine with them: Enter at an other doore, a Gentleman. . .

This second form occurs rather more frequently than the first. But nowhere do we find a reference to three or more doors by specific number. The word *several* frequently occurs, but always in its Elizabethan sense of *separate*:

The Devil's Charter I.i (A 1607 Q): Enter marching after drummes & trumpets at two severall places. . .

Measure for Measure V.i (C 1623 F): Enter Duke, Varrius, Lords, Angelo, Esculus, Lucio, Citizens at severall doores.

Timon of Athens I.i (C 1623 F): Enter Poet, Painter, Jeweller, Merchant, and Mercer, at severall doores.

It would seem that the Swan drawing was right for the Globe too: there were only two Stage-Doors.

But the action of other plays suggests that two means of access to the Platform would have been inadequate. In the fifth act of *The Merry Devil of Edmonston* (A 1608 Q), great care is taken by the dramatist to identify the two Stage-Doors with the doors of inns at Waltham, the George and its neighbour "ouerthwart"; in their "bay windows" are placed signs which, it is supposed, are changed overnight so that guests sleep in one rather than in the other. But if Stage-Door A represents inn A, and Stage-Door B inn B, what entrance to the Platform is used by players who come neither from A nor B, but from C or D (Friar Hilderham, for instance, or Benedic the Priest)? Where the doors are clearly marked, the use of them for other purposes confuses an audience which here must not be confused. In an earlier scene of the same play, IV. ii, one Stage-Door represents "Enfield Church porch", where Banks sits for some of the action; another entrance marks the road to the village, travelled for instance by the Sexton, and yet another is required for other players, Sir John, Blague and Smug, who are supposed to be "shifting for themselves" and returning to the village by different routes from a poaching expedition. The dramatist goes out of his way to make significant the geographical labelling of his two Stage-Doors, and then requires three. Much the same problem arises in *Pericles* V. i (A 1609 Q). Pericles' ship here must be represented by the Platform; here all the action takes place, with twelve or fourteen players involved, and here is a trap for the use of Diana. Pericles' chamber, in which he lies in bed, may be represented by an enclosure or, more simply, by the curtained four-poster bed itself. Shakespeare here makes the geography important: we are to think of a ship with inner parts and of players coming aboard from a barge moored alongside. But if the Platform is the deck, with the Stage-Doors leading to the interior, how are the exterior entrances and exits made, by the Gentlemen and Sailors, by Lysimachus and his Lords, by Marina and her attendants? Or again, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (A 1602 Q), the play becomes difficult to follow unless one Stage-Door is clearly understood as the Garter Inn, and the other as Page's house; yet some players enter from a third, neutral direction. And in the fairy scene of this play, V. v, three means of access are suggested in this direction:

... the Doctor comes one way & steales away a boy in red.
And Slender another way he takes a boy in greene: And
Fenton steales misteris Anne, being in white.

Battle scenes are particularly perplexed by precise geography. In *Coriolanus* I. iv (C 1623 F), we must understand a Volscian city with "Gates" (the Stage-Doors) and "Walles" (the Tiring-House gallery, or the top of a Booth backed against the Tiring-House). The Volscians emerge from their Gates, and the besieging Romans "are beat back to their Trenches". There is no "exeunt" given at this point, but immediately "Enter Martius Cursing", who proceeds to harangue the troops who have been given neither an exeunt nor a re-entry:

... Come on,
If you'l stand fast, wee'l beate them to their Wiues,
As they vs to our Trenches followes. ...

Later, there is "Another Alarum, and Martius followes them to gates, and is

shut in" (by the enemy). Three lines later he enters the Gates, to emerge "bleeding", and "They fight, and all enter the City". Clearly, this is a siege of the Tiring-House, but if the Stage-Doors represent, so precisely, the Gates contested in the long action, where are the Roman "Trenches", which appear to be off-stage and yet within sight of the audience (hence the uncertain directions covering the exit at this point)? Similarly, the English forces besieging Harfleur in *Henry V* (A 1600 Q) cannot enter the stage from a door in the besieged city itself. The 1623 Folio confirms, where the 1600 Quarto is deficient in directions, that the battle here was conducted with at least a minimum of "realism": "scaling ladders" are brought into place to scale the walls, and the City Gates are once more contested and finally entered in triumph. In a siege of the Tiring-House, how did besieging soldiers enter the Platform?

It is possible to argue that every scenic illusion on the Elizabethan stage may be broken when necessary, because this was no "picture stage". Even if a particular Stage-Door is virtually labelled as one geographic point, by convention it might change its identity even in the middle of a scene. I see the force of this argument, but am sure that a simpler explanation must be found for these scenes. Why go to the point of establishing a scenic illusion (the siege of a city, interplay between two neighboring houses, and so on) and then deliberately create business which breaks the illusion? It would seem that these playwrights relied upon some other means of access to the Platform, which is naturally brought into the action whenever the two Stage-Doors are blocked. After all, it is ridiculous for Adam, in *As You Like It* II.iii (C 1623 F), to look up at the Tiring-House and say to Orlando:

Come not within these doores: within this rooffe
The enemy of all your graces lues. . . .

and then for the two players to exit through the very doors thus forbidden. In these scenes, it is not so much the words in the text which create the problem on a two-door stage, but the total necessity of the action described.

In many plays players are directed to cross the stage, from one entrance to another, without lingering long in view of the audience. Sometimes they seem to pause and survey the Tiring-House which they pass *en route*. Here is an instance from *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (A 1608 Q):

Enter Husband with the officers . . . as going by his house.

Husband: I am right against my howse. . . .

Enter his wife brought in a chaire. . . . Children laid out. . . .

Wife: Oh, our two bleeding boyes laid forth vpon the thresholde.

In another, *Two Noble Kinsmen* I.v (D 1634 Q), three Queens enter "with the Hearses of their Knightes, in a Funerall Solempnity", and they "Exeunt severally" in three different directions:

3 *Qu.*: This funeral path, brings to your households grave:
Ioy ceaze on you againe: peace sleepe with him.

2 *Qu.*: And this to yours.

1 *Qu.*: Yours this way: Heavens lend
A thousand differing waies, to one sure end.

3 *Qu.*: This world's a Citty full of straying Streetes,
And Death's the market place, where each one meetes.

It would seem that there were means of bypassing the Tiring-House. If so, much more point is given to the processional parades of which Elizabethan dramatists were so fond. It is normally assumed that these were circuits of the stage between one Stage-Door and the other. Very seldom, however, is the word "door" used in these scenes, an exception occurring in *Cymbeline* V.ii (D 1623 F):

Enter Lucius, Iachimo, and the Romane Army at one doore: and the Britaine Army at another. . . . They march ouer, and goe out.

The following instances are more usual:

The Revenger's Tragedy I.i (A 1607 Q):

Enter Vendici, the Duke, Dutchesse, Lusurioso her sonne, Spurio the bastard, with a traine, passe ouer the Stage with Torch-light.

King Lear V.ii (C 1623 F):

Alarum within. Enter with Drumme and Colours, Lear, Cordelia, and Souldiers, ouer the Stage, and Exeunt.

Henry VIII, I.i (D 1623 F):

Enter Cardinall Wolsey, the Purse borne before him, certaine of the Guard, and two Secretaries with Papers: The Cardinall in his passage, fixeth his eye on Buckingham, and Buckingham on him, both full of disdain. . . . Exeunt Cardinall, and his Traine.

Ibid. IV.i:

The Order of the Coronation. . . . Exeunt, first passing ouer the Stage in Order and State. . . .

Or, in other scenes requiring a crossing of the stage by one or two players:

Every Man out of his Humour IV.ii (A 1600 Q):

Enter Deliro, with Macilente, speaking as they passe ouer the Stage. . . .

Ibid. III.i:

Enter Shift: Walkes by. . . .

The average time taken to "pass over" the stage seems to be about twenty-five seconds, estimating from the accompanying dialogue at the rate of twenty lines a minute. This is a considerable interval of time, implying that players do not cross directly from one Stage-Door to another along the front of the Tiring-House.

Sometimes players crossing the stage are given a direction to enter but no exit. In *Troilus and Cressida* I.ii (A 1609 Q), Trojan heroes pass in this way, to the commentary of Pandarus and Cressida, watching from the Tiring-House. In *Pericles* II.ii (A 1609 Q), six knights similarly "pass by" Simonides and Thaisa. Then there is the "shew of eight Kings" before Macbeth in *Macbeth* IV.i (C 1623 F). Cranford Adams suggests that these eight apparitions, followed by the Ghost of Banquo, were fleetingly seen through the aperture of a rear curtain or doorway, but it was not Elizabethan practice to secrete a spectacle in the rear stage, and in any case, the dialogue indicates that all nine figures are visible simultaneously (the Ghost points towards the others, and Macbeth comments on the regalia of the others while viewing the eighth king) as they cross in procession. Once again, there is no mention of doors in these processional spectacles.

I am suggesting that, while a circuit of the Platform between Stage-Doors is one possible answer to this problem, there is a strong alternative: that the Tiring-House was bypassed by players crossing the Platform where the audience can

best see them, well downstage, and that the observers stand in, or in the vicinity of, the Tiring-House. How could this be done? Such a notion has always been ruled out by the evidence of the De Witt drawing of the Swan; but the question of access to the Swan Platform was governed by the necessity to have a Platform removeable for animal shows, and, even so, it is quite possible that there were additional entrances at the wings of the Tiring-House, the whole of which in the drawing seems to protrude forwards. The Globe, on the other hand, had a fixed stage, of different characteristics; it may have had all kinds of assets to which the Swan could never aspire, wings adjoining the Twopenny Rooms, for instance, as well as a rear adjoining the Tiring-House. Moreover, I do not think proper weight has been given to R. C. Bald's suggestion, based on the sketch associated with the name of Hollar, that there were two external, or spectators, entrances to the Globe, lying to the North-East and the South-East.⁵ Now in an open-air theatre it is sound policy to set the stage to the North or the East, so that the afternoon sun lights up the stage. If the Globe Tiring-House were set in the easternmost bay of the octagonal structure, it follows that passages from the North-East and South-East spectators' entrances to the Yard must have passed between the Twopenny Rooms and the Tiring Rooms, thus dividing the Tiring-House from the auditorium. Such passages, opening into the Yard alleys on either side of the Platform, would have been much more convenient than the single passage in Cranford Adams' design which enters the Yard at a point directly opposite the Tiring-House where the "understanders" were most likely to congregate, blocking the way to the galleries. If these passages existed, it is certain that they would have been exploited by the players as a natural alternative means of access to the Platform. In Diagrams 2 and 3, I conjecture two alternative methods by which wing access could have been provided.

Most of us have been unhappy about a Globe Platform limited to two entrances. Sir Edmund Chambers, assuming three, still complained that, even so, the Elizabethan theatre would have been "worse off than any of the early neo-classic theatres based upon Vitruvius, in which the *porta regia* and *portae minores* of the scenic wall were regularly supplemented by the *viae ad forum* in the *versurae* to right and left of the proscenium".⁶ Our own medieval arenas, and even the Elizabethan innyard scaffolds, which players entered from the Yard, were not confined thus. Leslie Hotson attempts to meet the problem by having players lie about the perimeter of the Platform, "invisible", awaiting their cues; but he has yet to explain why players who take so much trouble to surprise their audiences with "discoveries" and "pat" entrances and spectacular visitations through the traps, should dissipate the surprise in this manner. Wing access seems altogether more sound and unexceptionable.

II. THE UPPER STAGE.

Most of the *certain* occasions when an upper stage was used at the Globe require a window. In *Every Man out of his Humour* II. i (A 1600 Q), first the "waiting Gentlewoman appears at the window", and then her mistress, to be wooed by Puntarvolo from the Platform beneath. In *Volpone* II. i (A 1605 Q),

⁵ Vide his paper in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, III, 17-20.

⁶ *Elizabethan Stage* (1923), III, 100.

the "mountebank" erects a scaffold under a "windore" from which Celia throws down her handkerchief. In *The Devil's Charter* III.ii (A 1607 Q), Alexander "out of a Casement" amorously invites Astor to "talke aboue" in his bedchamber. In *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, scene 9 (A 1607 Q), an Inn has a "Bay-window" decorated with the "signe of the Wolfe", and from this "upper chamber" Ilford "aboue" overhears the conversation of two players "beneath". Inn-signs are also placed in "bay windows" in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (A 1608 Q). In *Catiline* III. v (B 1611 Q), Cicero and his party watch from a window above, while Cornelius and armed men hammer at a door below and a porter answers them from within. In *Othello* I. i (C 1622 Q), Brabantio "at a window" has been aroused from sleep by the shouts of Iago. Other sleepers "above", Pharamond and Megra, are roused in *Philaster* II. iv (D 1620 Q). Then in *Henry VIII*, V. ii (D 1623 F), "the King, and Buts, at a Windowe aboue" hide behind a "Curtaine close" to overhear business proceeding on the Platform. These windows, with bays and casements (if not with curtains, for which there is only D authority), cannot be simulated by the roof of a Booth or Mansion. They were certainly part of the Tiring-House Front. But it is an open question whether there was one Window-Stage or two; one large bay with two sides might well serve for scenes requiring "opposite" windows, like *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* V. i, or *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, scene 9.

Was there any other upper stage apart from the Windows? As far as the Globe was concerned, it appears that no other was really necessary. An upper stage is designated as the "walles" of a city in battle scenes: *Henry V*, III. iii (A 1600 Q); *The Devil's Charter* II. i and IV. iv (A 1607 Q); *Coriolanus* I. iv (C 1623 F); *Timon of Athens* V. iv (C 1623 F); *The Maid's Tragedy* V. iii (D 1619 Q). With one exception, none of these scenes require more than a few players at the upper level, and the exception, while lurid, is not impossible for a bay of modest proportions. In *The Devil's Charter* IV. iv, Caesar's army gathers on the Platform, while "Enter vpon the walles Countesse Katherine, Iulio Sforza, Ensigne, souldiers, Drummes, Trumpets". After a parley, the battle begins:

A charge with a peale of Ordinance: Caesar after two retreates entreth by scalado, her Ensigne-bearer slaine: Katherin recouereth the Ensigne, & fighteth with it in her hand. Heere she sheweth excellent magnanimity. Caesar the third time repulsed, at length entreth by scalado, surpriseth her, bringeth her downe with some prisoners. . . .

This scene could not be played on the tiny roof of a Mansion. The roof of a Booth, of handsome proportions, is a better proposition; and an enclosure of some kind is certainly required in this scene for the "discovery" of two boys "at Cardes" in a "Tent". But Katherine has to be able to see inside the Tent, which she could not do standing on top of it. A single bay window, spanning the entire Tiring-House Front, would be the best setting for this scene, but a smaller bay might well suffice. We need look no further than the windows for the setting of all these scenes.

Other upper-stage scenes, not described in terms of windows or walls, are also adequately staged in the windows. In *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* V. i (B 1611 MS), Leonella enters "aboue in a Gallery with her loue Bellarius" and

conceals him in a corner, so that he may overlook action on the Platform, with these words:

thow knowst this gallerie well tis at thy vse now
t'as bin at myne full often, thow mayst sitt
like a most priuat gallant in y'on corner
see all the plaie and nere be seene thy self. . . .

If the Globe had a spectators gallery, or "Lords room", like that shown in the De Witt drawing of the Swan, there would have been no vantage point in which a gallant might have sat unobserved from the auditorium, except possibly behind a pillar or something of that sort. Nor is there any such corner on top of a Booth or Mansion, which was open and conspicuous. Window-Stages, however, set at the sides rather than the rear of the stage, would have contained, in the angle nearest the twopenny rooms, just such a corner. In *The Duchess of Malfi* V. v (D 1623 Q), there are no directions of "above", but Pescara and his companions, who overhear the shrieks of the dying Cardinal but cannot see him, indicate by remarks like "I'll see him hang'd, ere I'll goe downe to him", that they are standing on an upper stage. Later they exeunt from view and reappear on the Platform. Since it is difficult to exit in this way from the top of a Booth or Mansion, a part of the first-floor [i.e. the first floor above the street level] of the Tiring-House is the best setting here, the Window as well as anywhere. Prospero's appearance "on the top (inuisible)", in *The Tempest* III. iii (D 1623 F), might be staged on any upper level, even in the music gallery above the bay windows. Lastly, there is the prison setting in *Two Noble Kinsmen* II. i and II. ii (D 1634 Q). In the first of these scenes there is a direction "Palamon, and Arcite, above", and this reference in the text:

Jailer: Looke yonder they are; that's
Arcite lookes out.
Daughter: No Sir, no, that's Palamon: Arcite is the
Lower of the twaine; you may perceive a part
Of him.

In the second scene there is a direction "Enter Palamon, and Arcite in prison" and two references to "this window", through which the courtyard of the prison may be observed. "A part" of Arcite is all one would see of a player in a Window-Stage.

I cannot find any other scenes which may be assigned, at all reasonably, to the upper stage. There is no evidence that a four-poster bed, for bedchamber scenes, was ever installed in a window or gallery of the Tiring-House, or on the roof of a Booth or property. Indeed, in cold light, the notion is untenable. *Othello* V. ii (C 1622 Q) needs the Platform for the finale of the play, involving twelve players, three violent deaths, and a chair as well as the bed. "Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed" (C 1623 F) may imply a discovery with an enclosure or the bed pushed on from the rear; either way the Platform is the stage. Diagram 1 illustrates the relative merits, from lines of sight, of various positions of the bed, and effectively rules out Craeford Adams' "Chamber". Nothing is gained, theatrically, by staging climactic scenes, like *Hamlet* III. iv, or *The Maid's Tragedy* V. ii, on any kind of upper level; in fact, it is best to have the beds as far downstage as possible. Lastly, I see no reason why Imogen's

bedchamber (*Cymbeline* II. ii) has to be obscured in a rear stage: it does not matter if the surrounding furniture and decoration do not agree with Iachimo's description, which is clearly as fanciful as his note of the mole cinque-spotted on Imogen's left breast. There are no directions of "above" in any of these bed-chamber scenes.

It is sometimes claimed that the monument scenes in *Antony and Cleopatra* were staged at an upper level in the Tiring-House. The text (C 1623 F) leaves no doubt that in *both* scenes the "Monument" is an elevated acting area accessible from below on two opposite sides. In IV. xv, stage-directions—"Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides aloft" and "They heaue Anthony aloft to Cleopatra"—imply that the hero is hoisted aloft, perhaps with the aid of block and pulley, and a two-sided structure is called for by the words:

Looke out o'th other side your Monument,
His guard haue brought him thither.

In V. ii, Cleopatra's attention is engaged on one side of the Monument while soldiers storm the citadel and take the women prisoner (a logical deduction from the action of the scene, although in the text the stage-direction describing the assault seems to be omitted between two consecutive speeches by Proculeius). But this last great scene of the play cannot be staged within the Tiring-House, leaving the Platform empty; nor will thirteen players bring "High Order, in this great Sollemnity", by crowding themselves, and three deaths, into a window or gallery, although the top of a Booth or property, if large enough, and well downstage, might just suffice. With the first scene, the protagonists cannot make much of themselves or their passion, precariously balanced on a window-sill or prone behind gallery balusters. Nor is the top of a Booth practicable here. The women "Exeunt, bearing of Anthonies body" without descending from the Monument into Roman hands below. From a Booth or property backed against the Tiring-House an exit might conceivably be made into the gallery (over the balusters, or through a gate we cannot prove existed?), but all the advantages of a downstage setting would be lost. It would seem that the two levels here can only be represented by the Platform and the Yard.

In *Julius Caesar* (C 1623 F), there is a need for a raised elevation described as a "pulpit" or "publike Chaire" in III. ii, and as a "hill" in V. iii. In the first scene there is a direction "Enter Brutus and goes into the pulpit" and references like "The Noble Brutus is ascended" and "Noble Antony go vp", but no exits or re-entrances marked, as we might expect if the players had had to leave the Platform to reach the higher level of the Tiring-House. In the second, Pindarus climbs "higher on that hill" and is given the directions "Pind. Aboue" and, after his descent, "Enter Pindarus". His ascent occupies 2½ lines of the play and his descent 2, insufficient time to leave the Platform for an upper level (in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* V. i, Leonella takes nine lines to descend to the Platform from a Window). Indeed, Pindarus takes about the same time to reach his hill-top as Antony takes to reach the pulpit. Here we have the choice of a window reached by a visible *scalado*, or the top of a Booth or Mansion, or a property, and my preference is for the last. The reference to a "Chaire" suggests a Throne or "State", the one doubtless used for the meeting of the Senate in III. i. Less certainly, the "hill" may have been the dais on which a throne is sometimes mounted:

Henry VIII (D 1623 F):

- I. ii: . . . the Cardinall places himselfe *vnder* the Kings feete on his right side.
 I. ii: King riseth from his State, takes her *vp*, kisses and placeth her by him.
 I. iv: A small Table *vnder* a State for the Cardinall. . .

(the words italicized support the notion of a dais).

What other possible uses for an upper stage are there? In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, there is much talk of an upper chamber, and much running up and down stairs, but there are no directions of "above" and nothing visible at an upper level. Shakespeare doubtless made the wise decision not to confine so large a proportion of the action, in this play of closets and bedchambers, to the rear of the stage. In *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, scene 5 (A 1608 Q), the husband tumbles the body of the maid down stairs:

Ille
 breake your clamor with your neck down staires:
 Tumble, tumble, headlong. . . .
 Throws her down.

But she cannot be tumbled down a *scalado* from a window, and stairs offstage will not do. In any case, there is a likely "discovery" in this scene—"Enter a maide with a child in her armes, the mother by her a sleepe"—so that Platform staging before an enclosure seems called for. These stairs seem to lead down into the Yard. As for the suggestions that "presenters", as in *Every Man out of his Humour*, or "stage audiences", as in *The Maid's Tragedy*, were traditionally seated in the "Lords Room" aloft, I can find no supporting evidence in these Globe plays.

It would seem, then, that the use of an upper stage, at the Globe, may have been restricted entirely to the Window-Stages. There is nothing "above" which cannot be played there. There is nothing that suggests that the top of a Booth or Mansion would have been indispensable, nothing that even hints that Booths or Mansions had tops. On the other hand, the windows were certainly available. In Diagrams 2 and 3, I offer alternative versions of the disposition of the windows. In Diagram 2, I assume that the "twelvepenny rooms" aloft were shaped, at the Globe, like a wide bay, pilastered to give the effect of windows, a bay large enough to take comfortably the battle action of *The Devil's Charter*. In Diagram 3, I assume that the gallery in the Tiring-House was similar in design to that shown in the De Witt drawing of the Swan, and that the bay-windows, therefore, were set at the sides of the Platform rather than the rear, providing opposite windows for *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* and a gallants' corner for *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. Both versions depend upon one assumption: the Globe had bay windows, when the Swan had none, because some of the twelvepenny rooms at the Globe were shaped like bays, and it was these which were exploited as Window-Stages.

III. ENCLOSURES

In 29 of the 39 plays a stage-arras is necessary for the action: a prominent feature, then, of Globe productions, even if the De Witt drawing shows none

at the Swan. In several plays a simple traverse across the rear of the Platform will suffice as concealment for, say, an eavesdropper: for Falstaff (*Merry Wives of Windsor* III. iii), Claudius and Polonius (*Hamlet* III. i), Polonius (*Hamlet* III. iv), Bonario (*Volpone* III. vi), Hermione "like a Statue" (*Winter's Tale* V. iii), Cariola (*Duchess of Malfi* I. i), and similar instances. There are many other places of concealment on the stage: the Window-Stages, as we have seen, "cabinets" and "penthouses", which I discuss below, places "behind the post", that is, behind the Stage-Posts supporting the Shadow, like that used by Frescobaldi in *The Devil's Charter* III. v. But wherever the place of concealment is not specified, it is safe to assume that the arras is intended; it may even be concealed by a complicated description, like that in *Sejanus* IV. iii (A 1605 Q), when Rufus and Opsius retire to their "holes":

Here place your selues, betweene the rooffe, and seeling,
And when I bring him to his wordes of daunger,
Reuale your selues, and take him.

No time at all elapses between the "wordes of daunger" and the arrest of Sabinus, so that we must assume that they are concealed about the Platform somewhere and not in an attic situated in the Shadow! It is difficult to see how there *can* be an acting area at the Globe "betweene the rooffe, and seeling"; *faute de mieux*, the arras is convenient enough. This curtain seems to be only seven feet high or so, five feet lower than the floor of the first gallery, if Volpone's words are to be trusted (*Volpone* V. i, A 1605 Q):

I'll get vp,
Behind the curtine, on a stoole, and harken;
Sometime, peepe ouer; see, how they doe looke. . . .

It cannot be very much higher than seven feet, if he is to be able to look over the top of it, even standing on a stool. And it is used so often that we may understand it as a permanent feature of the stage. The question now arises whether any other kind of curtain were required on the stage, or whether the traverse, screening off a part of the rear stage, provided the only enclosure. Are Booths, Studies, Mansions, Tents, Closets, any of them, necessary?

One kind of enclosure, used in forest and garden scenes, was certainly a property. This is the "tree", strong enough to support Sordido, who tries to hang himself on it, in *Every Man out of his Humour* III. vii, large enough as a "brake of ferne" to conceal Millicent in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* IV. i, as an "Iuy bush" to conceal Butler in *The Miserie of Enforced Marriage*, scene 8, or as a "bush" to conceal Philaster in *Philaster* IV. iv and Palamon in *Two Noble Kinsmen* III. i and III. vii. Another property of the same kind but rather larger is described as an "arbor", a "wood-bine Couerture" and a "pleached bower" in *Much Ado about Nothing* (Benedick hides and Beatrice couches in it), as "Bushes" to conceal Thomas and John in *The Miserie of Enforced Marriage*, scene 8, as a "wood" or "bottome", for Clare and Ierningham in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* IV. i, and as a "box tree", for Sir Toby, Sir Andrew and Fabian, in *Twelfth Night* II. v. This kind of enclosure is a special case.

In other scenes, a traverse conceals large properties which have been prepared for discovery, like Volpone's treasure in *Volpone* I. i or Kent's stocks in *King Lear* II. iv. Here the essential requirements are a front curtain, which a traverse

would provide, a rear door, for the installation and removal of properties, and a trap door, shaped perhaps like a grave, for sepulchral visitations. The rear of the Platform has all these features, and is spacious where a Mansion, for instance, cannot be. Tombs are concealed in this enclosed area in *Pericles* IV. iii, *Timon of Athens* V. iii, *Much Ado about Nothing* V. iii and *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* IV. iii and IV. iv, where the directions specify a door and a trap (B 1611 MS):

Enter the Tirant agen at a farder dore, which opened, bringes hym to the Toombe wher the Lady lies buried; The Toombe here discouered ritichly set forthe.

On a sodayne in a kinde of Noyse like a Wynde, the dores clattering, the Toombstone flies open, and a great light appeares in the midst of the Toombe; His Lady as went owt, standing iust before hym all in white, Stuck with Jewells and a great crucifex on her brest.

The altar properties of chapels are "discovered" in *Sejanus* V. iv, *The Duchess of Malfi* III. iv, and in *Two Noble Kinsmen* V. i (D 1634 Q), where, it would seem, three altars are required, dedicated respectively to Mars, Venus and Diana, the third of which is situated over the trap to facilitate the manipulation of objects upon it:

Doves are seene to flutter. . . . Here the Hynde vanishes under the Altar: and in the place ascends a Rose Tree the Rose falls from the Tree.

Ghostly voices are heard from this trap, in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* IV. iv and in *The Duchess of Malfi* V. iii (D 1623 Q)—"Eccho, (from the Dutchesse Grave)". Doubtless, the same trap is used by the Ghost of Caesar, appearing to Brutus in his "Tent", in *Julius Caesar* IV. iii, and by the Ghost of Banquo, appearing at the "Banquet", in *Macbeth* III. iv. It may also be used by Timon, burying his gold in the "earth" (*Timon of Athens* IV. iii) and by the Fishermen "drawing vp a Net" and finding "a rusty Armour" (*Pericles* II. i). Other gruesome objects, discovered in an enclosure, are corpses or dummy corpses:

The Revenger's Tragedy I. iv (A 1607 Q):

. . . . he Discouering the body of her dead to certaine Lords.

A Yorkshire Tragedy, scene 10 (A 1608 Q):

Children laid out.

The Duchess of Malfi IV. i (D 1623 Q):

Here is discover'd, (behind a Travers;) the artificiall figures of Antonio, and his children; appearing as if they were dead.

Ibid. IV. ii:

Shewes the children strangled.

Beds were sometimes discovered in the same way. In the spectacular prologue of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, after the words "Draw the curtaines", Fabell is discovered "laide on his restlesse couch", with a clock and a "Necromantike chaire" (A 1608 Q). But elsewhere, although the use of an enclosure is likely, the directions may be read as the description of beds pushed out from a Stage-Door:

A Yorkshire Tragedy, scene 5 (A 1608 Q):

Enter a maide with a child in her armes, the mother by her a sleepe.

Othello V. ii (C 1623 F):

Enter Othello, and Desdemona in her bed.

Cymbeline II. ii (D 1623 F):

Enter Imogen, in her Bed, and a Lady.

The Maid's Tragedy V. ii (D 1619 Q):

King abed.

Banquets, as a general rule, were served in, rather than discovered:

The Devil's Charter V. iv (A 1607 Q):

. . . . a cupbord of plate brought in enter a table spread, Viandes brought in.

The Revenger's Tragedy V. iii (A 1607 Q):

A furnished table is brought forth.

Timon of Athens I. ii (C 1623 F):

A great Banquet seru'd in.

Senates, settings which, like banquets, required the setting out of seats, were sometimes discovered, as in *Julius Caesar* III. i, where a special part of the Platform was designated "the Capitoll", or in *Othello* I. iii (C 1622 Q): "Enter Duke and Senators, set at a Table with lights and Attendants", and sometimes not:

Coriolanus II. ii (C 1623 F):

Enter two Officers, to lay Cushions, as it were, in the Capitoll.

Henry VIII, V. ii (D 1623 F):

A Councell Table brought in with Chayres and Stooles, and placed vnder the State.

None of these scenes seem to require a four-sided enclosure; a traverse across the rear stage, with access from the Stage-Doors and the Grave Trap, satisfies the requirements, and with additional means of access to the Platform, from the wings, no problem need arise about entrances in front of the enclosed area.

On the other hand, something quite different is required for the scenes which specify a tent, hovel, cave, cell, prison, closet, cabinet or study. As far as tents are concerned, a key context occurs in the spectacular prologue of *The Devil's Charter* (A 1607 Q):

At one doore betwixt two other Cardinals, Roderigo in his purple habit close in conference with them, one of which hee guideth to a Tent, where a Table is furnished with diuers bagges of money, which that Cardinall beareth away: and to another Tent the other Cardinall, where hee deliuereth him a great quantity of rich Plate. . . .

Two tents here are simultaneously visible, and while it might be possible to divide the rear stage behind the traverse by an additional transverse curtain, it is also clear that the Stage-Doors remain visible with the "tents" in position. The inescapable inference is that these tents were separate structures and situated away from the Stage-Doors. At least two tents are also required for *Troilus and Cressida* III. iii, V. i and V. ii (A 1609 Q), if Achilles and Calchas, and possibly others, had separate tents. Single tents suffice for the action of *Julius Caesar* IV. iii, and *King Lear* IV. iv and IV. vii.

A "houell" occurs in *King Lear* III. iv and III. vi, significantly a play which also requires a tent (perhaps the same structure serves both purposes). A "Caue" "in the woods", at one point housing a tomb, is needed for *Timon of Athens*

IV. iii, V. i and V. iii, and another in *Cymbeline*, III. iii, III. vi, IV. ii and IV. iv. There is a "Cell" in *The Tempest* I. ii, III. i, IV. i and V. i, where "Prospero discouers Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at Chesse" (D 1623 F). All these terms imply a structure lowly and humble, to enter which players stoop, although we must not make too much of the words of Belarius in *Cymbeline* III. iii (D 1623 F):

A goodly day, not to keepe house with such,
Whose Roofe's as lowe as ours: Sleepe Boyes, this gate
Instructs you how t'adore the Heauens; and bowes you
To a mornings holy office.

Some structure equally small and low is appropriate for the place in which Malvolio is imprisoned, completely obscured from view, in *Twelfth Night* IV. ii. A similar structure, out on the Platform where it can be overhung by a "prodigious comet in deadly fire", simulates the "sad room" in *The Revenger's Tragedy* III. v (A 1607 Q).

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* I. iv, Simple hides, until he is found by Caius, in a confined space described in the 1602 Quarto as a "Counting-house" and in the 1623 Folio as a "Closset". This closet had a door, to judge from *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* V. i (B 1611 MS), where Anselmus "locks him self in". A similar "Cabinet" is required for *The Duchess of Malfi* V. ii. A "study" with a door and curtains is mentioned several times in *The Devil's Charter* (A 1607 Q):

- I. iv: Alexander in his study with bookes, coffers, his triple Crowne vpon a cushion before him.
- IV. i: Alexander commeth vpon the Stage out of his study with a booke in his hand.
- V. vi: Alexander vnbraced betwixt two Cardinalls in his study looking vpon a booke, whilst a groome draweth the Curtaine.
- V. vi: Alexander draweth the Curtaine of his studie where hee discouereth the diuill sitting in his pontificals. . . .
- IV. v: Bernardo knockeh at the study.

In this last scene, Alexander has exited "into his study", leaving instructions with his servant Bernardo to be informed at his "study doore" when Astor and Philippo have fallen asleep after the drugged wine. Bernardo obediently knocks and reports in nine lines of dialogue, at the end of which Alexander is seen "vpon the stage" "solus". Bernardo is given no exit, here nor in other parts of the scene, in which he is continually appearing and disappearing on errands; it is just possible, therefore, that the Study Door is in the rear of the enclosure, a Stage-Door perhaps, invisible to the audience. It is more likely that the stage would not be left empty, even for nine lines, and that this door, like the closet's, is fully visible. If so, we must conclude that we are faced here with a separate structure, not with merely a curtained area of the rear stage.

What kind of structure could represent these tents and hovels, caves and cells, closets and cabinets and studies? Cranford Adams' Study has no front door, although in Diagram 3, I suggest a disposition of the rear stage whereby the Stage-Doors may seem to open into the Study, as well as into the Tiring-House; in my Diagram, the enclosure is not strictly a recess, but the space under-

neath a large, single bay-window in the Tiring-House Front. The disadvantage of this solution is that the enclosure is right at the rear of the Platform, as far from the audience as can be; that the height of the front curtain must somehow be adjustable to convey the impression of a lowly hovel or cave; and that transverse curtains would have to be used to divide the enclosure into two, where two tents are necessary. Leslie Hotson's "Mansions", or properties of similar size, will serve whenever the enclosure is not required to house large properties or more than a few players, but cannot cope, for instance, with the couch, chair and clock in the prologue to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*; and the size of the Mansion cannot be increased very much without defeating Hotson's object and obstructing the view of the audience in this arena theatre. Walter Hodges' Booth will serve for all purposes, eliminating even the need for a rear traverse, provided that it has a visible door and is erected against the Tiring-House Front, at the rear of the stage, so that it does not block the view of the audience and has a Stage-Door at its rear for the installation and removal of large properties. With access to the Platform from the wings, there is no objection to surrendering a Stage-Door for this purpose. I cannot understand, however, why Booths or Mansions should have doors, as well as curtains: the historical factors which produced them are not clear. And, in any case, a Booth is much too large for cabinets and closets; there is no need to send a man on a boy's errand.

It would seem that the best solution is to use a Booth in one play, and Mansions in the next, but this suggests that enclosures were there because they were useful, rather than used because they were there. In Diagram 2, I suggest a method whereby enclosures of a respectable, all-purpose size, small enough for cabinets and large enough for sizable properties, may have been available on each side of the Platform and at points much nearer the audience than Adams' Study. If bay-windows existed, one on each side of the stage, then the space underneath them must have been exploited, one way or another. The likeliest suggestion is that the Platform "bays" were additional twelpenny rooms on the lower level. In my Diagram they have been adapted, with curtains, to provide enclosures, with a gate in their palings, by which gallants entered the "box" from the stage, to provide a visible Study Door. These "bays" would provide the smaller enclosures, while the traverse curtain provided a larger enclosed area for other kinds of scene, without calling in carpenters to erect any kind of structure on the Platform during a performance.

IV. THE PENTHOUSE

Platform bays would assist us to solve another problem, to which no satisfactory solution has yet been presented, the location of the "penthouse". This feature is mentioned in *Much Ado about Nothing* III.iii (A 1600 Q):

Stand thee close then vnder this penthouse, for it drissels raine. . . .

Here concealed, Borachio and Conrade cannot see the watchmen who listen to their words. Again, in *Troilus and Cressida* V.ii (A 1609 Q):

Stand, where the torch may not discover vs. . . .

On this occasion Ulysses and Troilus conceal themselves, with Thersites, unknown to the other two, also hidden somewhere to their rear. There is also a

"hedge corner" used for the ambush of Parolles in *All's Well that Ends Well* IV.i (C 1623 F):

Enter one of the Frenchmen, with five or sixe other souldiers in ambush.

An ambush involving fewer players occurs in *Othello* V.i (C 1622 Q), where Iago and Roderigo lie in wait for Cassio:

Here stand behind this Bulke, straite will he come,
Weare thy good Rapier bare, and put it home,
Quicke, quicke, feare nothing, I'll be at thy elbowe. . . .

Such a "bulke" would be useful in other plays, for instance in *Every Man out of his Humour* I.ii and I.iii, where Macilente conceals himself, in one scene standing and in the other seated. If the Stage-Doors had pillars, then these might serve as a bulk to conceal Iago and Roderigo, who jump at Cassio as soon as he enters the stage. But the six or seven Frenchmen who ambush Parolles cannot possibly secrete themselves behind slender door-pillars, and in this instance Parolles must have advanced a fair distance on to the stage, speaking his soliloquy, before the trap is sprung. The interior of a Booth or Mansion, or some other enclosure, may have served as a shelter from the rain for Borachio and Conrade, or for Ulysses and Troilus, observing the action from its opening, but Thersites cannot be hidden from the view of the audience in the depths of an enclosure.

In *Every Man out of his Humour* II.i, two places of concealment are required. One is used by four players, Sogliardo, Carlo, Fastidius Brisk, and the page Cinedo (A 1600 Q):

. . . . stand by, close vnder this Tarras, & you shall see it done better than I can shew it.

In this position they are invisible to Puntarvolo, who stands at the rear of the Platform, and to the two ladies who talk with Puntarvolo from the Window-Stage, but visible to the audience and to the Presenters, who are probably sitting near the front of the stage. No position at the rear of the stage, along the Tiring-House Front, satisfies these requirements. Later, Puntarvolo observes Sordido and Fungoso approaching, perhaps by a Stage-Door; he waves to them, commands "retire your selues a space", and they then "withdraw at the other part of the stage", to a position whence they would be invisible to the lady at the window when she next reappears. Sordido and Fungoso apparently move to a place of concealment *opposite* that used by Sogliardo and his party, whom they do not meet. Finally, the Lady and her attendant enter the Platform, "and seeing them"—that is, Sogliardo and his friends—"turnes in againe". The game up, Sogliardo and two of his companions "step forth" to Puntarvolo.

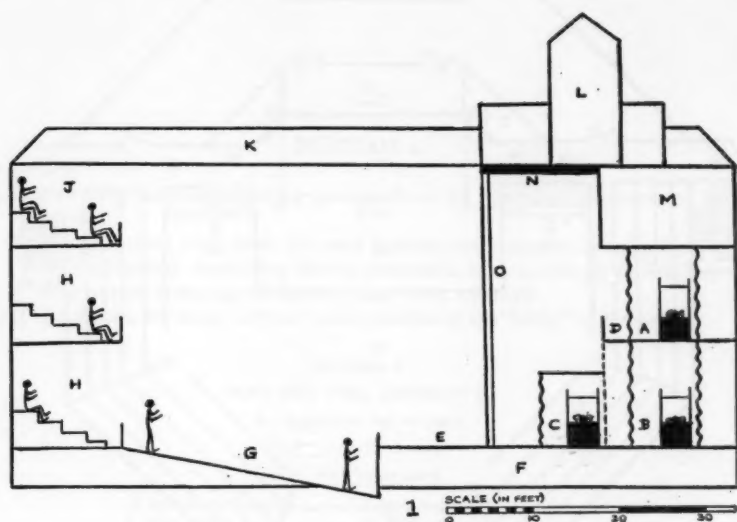
The most important clue, I think, is the Lady's Platform entrance. She must enter by a wing access, because Sogliardo and his party are nowhere near the Stage-Doors and yet she observes them as soon as she appears. There is, as it happens, a "penthouse" on each side of the stage, in my Diagram 2, by the Platform bays, underneath the bay windows (whether these protrude forwards at the first story, like so many Elizabethan windows, or not). In this position, Sogliardo and his party are plainly visible to the audience and to the Presenters, but invisible to players standing on the rear of the Platform or in the windows

(unless the latter leaned directly over the sill). In the other scenes, Cassio would have been ambushed from the bay as he entered by the wing access, Parolles would have had time to reach this position downstage before the Frenchmen spring out, and Thersites would have stood behind Ulysses and Troilus, deeper within the wing access. Those of my readers who are skeptical, about both this wing access, and platform bays, are asked to sketch in the movements in this scene of *Every Man out of his Humour* on any diagram of the Globe stage they care to draw. They will find it an intriguing problem; easy to solve in parts but not as a whole. In desperation, they may find that my suggestion is not entirely unacceptable.

In this survey, I have tried, without complete success, to avoid downright commitment to any one theory, because it seems to me preferable to direct attention to the means of a *consensus gentium*. It would seem that our knowledge of the Globe stage would bring us within reach of an agreed final picture, if we could establish the exact contours of the stage at the head of the Yard alleys, where, I suggest, the passage from the spectators' entrances to the Yard converges with the wings of the Platform and the bays. Believing in access from the Platform to the Yard,⁷ I should be glad to accept the notion that steps from this passage down to the Yard were also used, unexceptionably and quite naturally, by players. There would be no need to look further to discover how the Roman soldiers entered the Yard to raise Antony aloft to a Platform Monument (*Antony and Cleopatra* IV. xv), or how Marina and others entered the Platform from a barge in the Yard (*Pericles* V. i), or how the soldiers besieging Corioli entered their "Trenches" (*Coriolanus* I. iv), or how the Globe groundlings themselves obstructed royal processions (*Henry VIII*, V. iv), or how the maid's body was tumbled headlong down visible stairs (*A Yorkshire Tragedy*, scene 5), or how Caesar casts first Candy and then Frescobaldi into the River Tiber (*The Devil's Charter* III. v), or how players leaving the Platform could "go down" (*The Merry Devil of Edmonton* I. i, *Antony and Cleopatra* II. vii, and elsewhere). And the references to ditches and stiles about the Platform stage need not be as fanciful as we may think. The "faire-fild Globe" is an elusive target for our eyes; just when we seem to have it, the picture dissolves and escapes us once more. But I am hopeful that my suggestions may lead the way to a reconstruction as clear and stable as we are ever likely to achieve.

Leeds University

⁷ Vide my paper, "Vaulting the Rails", in *Shakespeare Survey* 7 (1954), pp. 69-81. See also Allardyce Nicoll's paper in *Shakespeare Survey* 12, pp. 47-55.



GLOBE PLAYHOUSE 1599-1613

DIAGRAM 1.

This illustrates the relative advantages of the Adams Study and Hodges Booth over the Adams Chamber. Lines of sight in a cross-section demonstrate that a player lying on a bed in the 'Chamber' would be invisible to the entire ground-floor audience.

DIAGRAM 1.
CROSS-SECTION

The figure in the enclosure represents a player in a bed.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| A Adams "Chamber" | H Twopenny Rooms |
| B Adams "Study" | J Penny Gallery |
| C Hodges "Booth" | K Roof |
| D Adams "Tarras" | L Huts |
| E Platform | M Music Gallery |
| F Cellarage | N Shadow |
| G Yard | O Stage Posts |

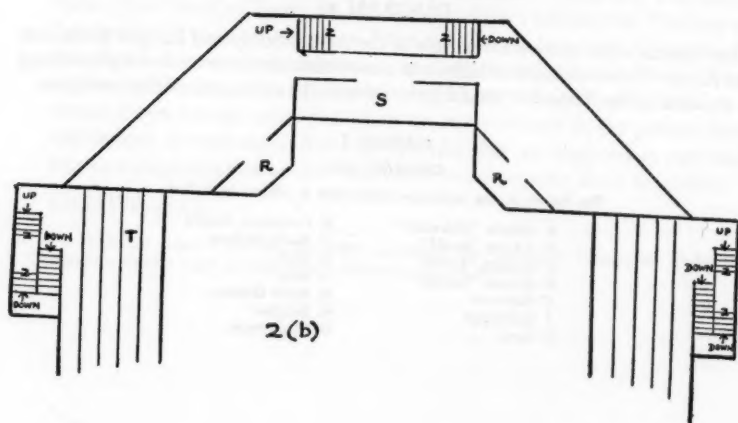
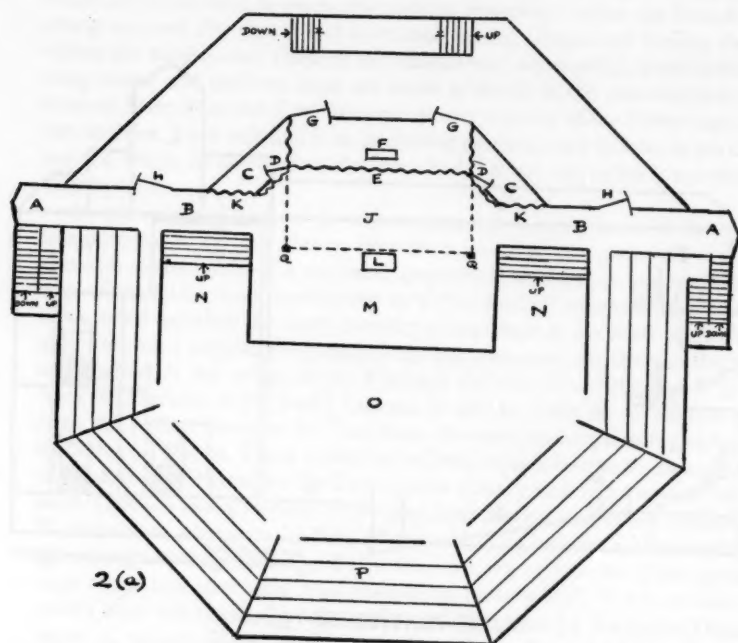


DIAGRAM 2.

Note here

- (i) The wing accesses formed by passages from the Spectators' Entrances to the Yard.
- (ii) The enclosures, with front door and curtains, made possible by adaptation of bay twopenny rooms lying directly underneath bay windows on the first floor.
- (iii) Rear traverse screening off the rear stage when necessary.
- (iv) Penthouses or "hedge corners" made possible by the "bulks" of the bays.

DIAGRAM 2

PLAN VIEW (FIRST ALTERNATIVE)

An impression not to scale

2 (a) At Platform Level

2 (b) At Window Level

A Spectators' Entrance	I Main Trap
B Wing Access	M Platform
C Bay Enclosure	N Yard Alley
D Enclosure Gate	O Yard
E Traverse	P Twopenny Rooms (Platform Level)
F Grave Trap	Q Stage Post
G Stage Door	R Bay Window
H Players Door	S Twopenny Rooms (Platform Level)
J Area beneath Shadow	T Twopenny Rooms (Window Level)
K Penthouse	

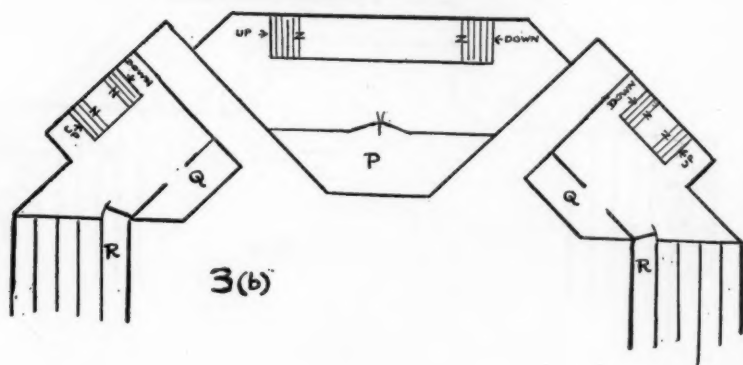
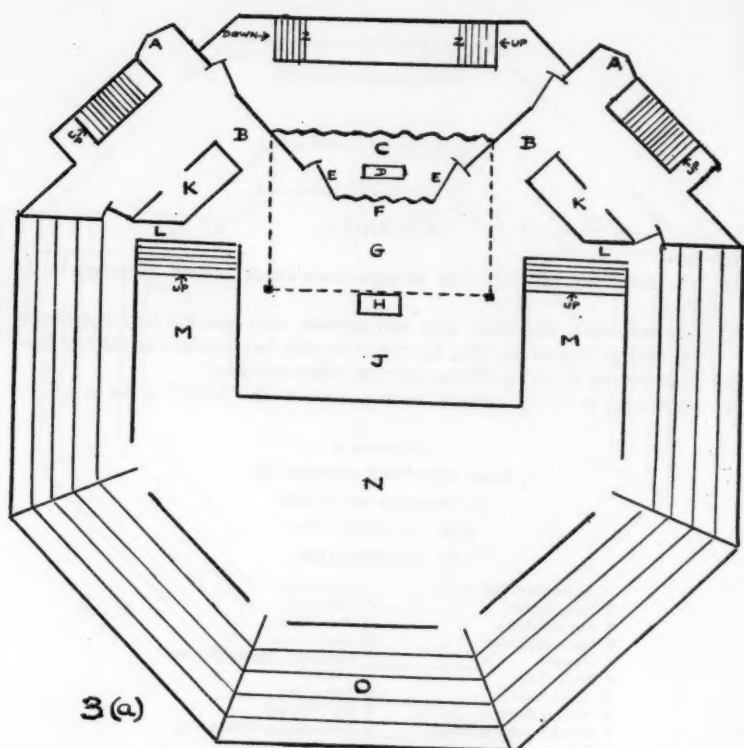


DIAGRAM 3.

Note here

- (i) Wing accesses set at a sharper angle than in Diagram 2.
- (ii) A single enclosure made possible by the adaptation of a single bay lying directly underneath the bay of twelpenny rooms on the first floor.
- (iii) Stage Doors angled so that they may seem to be doors into the enclosure as well as doors into the Tiring House.
- (iv) Penthouses or "hedge corners" made possible by the "bulks" of ground-floor twelpenny rooms.

DIAGRAM 3

PLAN VIEW (SECOND ALTERNATIVE)

An impression not to scale

3 (a) At Platform Level

3 (b) At Window Level

A Spectators' Entrance	L Penthouse
B Wing Access	M Yard Alley
C Bay Enclosure	N Yard
D Grave Trap	O Twopenny Rooms (Platform Level)
E Stage Door	P Single large Bay Window
F Traverse	Q Twelpenny Room (Window Level)
G Area beneath Shadow	R Twopenny Rooms (Window Level)
H Main Trap	
J Platform	
K Twelpenny Room (Platform Level)	

Shylock In the Merchant of Venice

For Mr. Wm. Ward

Doncaster October 25th 1772

Lengths 10. N^o. 92.

Shylock¹¹⁵ In the Merchant of Venice
Act 5: Enter with Bassanio R. 10.
at _____ knocks at the Door
Three Thousand Ducats? _____ well.
For Three Months? _____ for Three Months.
_____ shall be bound.
Anthonio shall become bound? _____ well.
_____ know your Answer?
Three Thousand Ducats for Three Months, and
Anthonio Bound?
Anthonio is a good Man. _____ Answer to that?
_____ to the Contrary.
No, No, No, No; _____ My meaning, in saying he is a
good Man, is to have you Understand one, that he is
Sufficient: yet his Means are in Supposition: he hath
an Argive bound to Tripoli, another to the Indies; I
Understand, moreover, upon the Rialto, he hath a
Third at Mexico, a Fourth for England; and other
Ventures he hath Squander'd Abroad. But Ships
are but Vombs, Sailors but Men; there be land-Rats,
and Water-Rats, Land-Thieves, and Water-thieves;

Wear and Tear as Factors in the Textual History of the Quarto Version of *King Lear*

JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON



IN an earlier study¹ I presented a theory designed to explain the omission of certain passages from the quarto texts of six of Shakespeare's plays, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Richard III*, and *2 Henry IV*. Having observed that these passages appear in irregular pairs separated by some 40, 50, or 60 lines, I suggested that, as the dramatists of the time averaged 40, 50, or 60 lines on a manuscript page, using both sides of the paper and leaving no margins at top or bottom, these passages might originally have been written back to back at the foot of single leaves of the manuscript and then have disappeared as the lower edges of these leaves were worn away.² The purpose of the present article is to test this theory by exploring its implications for the textual history of the quarto version of one of these six plays, *King Lear*.

If accepted, this theory will, first of all, confirm present-day opinion that a number of passages not found in Q⁸ were accidentally omitted from the authentic text rather than subsequently added by Shakespeare.⁴ At the same time it could be assumed that isolated passages were worn away by attrition affecting one side of the leaf only.

In the second place, the theory will offer a new explanation for many of that multitude of single-word variants between Q and F that characterizes this particular play. In a manuscript so badly worn as to lose the lower part of nine of its leaves,⁵ single words might have disappeared elsewhere—some partially, others completely—and then have been restored incorrectly by the compositor of the first quarto. If, for instance, the word "disasters" (I. i. 174), which is the F

¹ "Worn Pages in Shakespearian Manuscripts", *SQ*, VII (1956), 177-182.

² Lest the range of intervals separating the two members of a pair of omitted passages seems too great to have significance, I must point out that the range differs from play to play. The intervals in *Lear*, for instance (that is, the number of lines from the end of the first passage of a pair to the end of the second), come in the 40's and 50's, while in *Hamlet* they are in the 50's and 60's. I have also noted pairs of omitted passages in the folio texts of three of these same plays—*Lear*, *Ham.*, *R. III*—but am reserving a discussion of them until a later article.

³ As is customary, I use Q and F to indicate the first quarto text and the first folio text of the play respectively.

⁴ For the accidental aspect of many of these omissions, see E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, I, 467; W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, pp. 375, 381.

⁵ The leaves that according to my theory ended, on the recto, at I. i. 43; I. ii. 109; II. iv. 6; II. iv. 97; II. iv. 296; III. ii. 96; IV. i. 9; V. iii. 91; V. iii. 224. In each case, another omission appears some 40 or 50 lines later, presumably at the foot of the verso of the leaf. In this paper I follow the line-numbering of the old Cambridge edition of the plays.

reading, had been worn down to "dis . s . e . s", the compositor might have conjectured that it was "diseases", as it reads in Q.⁶ Similarly he might have reconstructed Lear's descriptive phrase for his daughters, "yonger strengths" (I. i. 39)—were the last word completely lost—as "yonger yeares".

The most significant implications of my theory, however, have to do with the type of document used by the Q compositor as copy—so debatable a subject that it seems wise to summarize at the outset the more important of the recent theories concerning its origin.

(1) In 1930 Sir Edmund Chambers declared that "the characteristics of Q point to a reported text", and surmised: "Possibly it was produced by shorthand."⁷

(2) In 1931 Professor Madeleine Doran set forth her belief that Q was printed from Shakespeare's own manuscript, "which contained a good deal of revised and rewritten matter".⁸

(3) In 1935 Dr. B. A. P. Van Dam gave reasons for thinking that Q was printed from an early prompt-book close to Shakespeare's manuscript.⁹

(4) In 1945 Professor Leo Kirschbaum presented the theory that the printer's copy was a "memorial reconstruction" prepared without the other players' knowledge by one of their number, who relied upon his own memory of the play.¹⁰

(5) In 1949 Professor George I. Duthie expanded this theory to include the whole troupe of actors. These men and boys, he assumed, dictated their parts in turn to a scribe as they attempted to reconstruct their prompt-book while touring the provinces without it.¹¹

(6) Finally, in 1953, Dr. Alice Walker introduced a further modification of this hypothesis with her theory of "memorial contamination", arguing, rather, that while Shakespeare's original manuscript was being surreptitiously dictated by one boy actor to another, the two boys occasionally substituted incorrect phrases remembered from performance of the play for Shakespeare's written words before them.¹²

Three different assumptions underly these several hypotheses: (1) that most of the irregularities in Q resulted from weaknesses in the stenographic system employed by the piratical reporter; (2) that they resulted from corruption or illegibility in Shakespeare's manuscript; or (3) that they resulted from lapses of memory on the part of one or more of the actors. The first alternative, popular in the 1930's, was refuted by Duthie in a study demonstrating that no system of stenography then known could have reproduced the spoken words of the play with even the low degree of accuracy evident in Q.¹³ The second alternative, that Q derives from Shakespeare's own manuscript, the so-called "foul

⁶ Recent scholars have usually attributed such variants to the imperfect recollections of actors trying to replace their prompt-book from memory. Obviously, however, fading manuscripts could effect the same results as fading memories. In this particular case, since "diseases" had already been used ten lines earlier, the word could have come to the mind of either actor or compositor.

⁷ *Shakespeare*, I, 465.

⁸ *The Text of "King Lear"* (Stanford Univ. Press), p. 122.

⁹ *The Text of Shakespeare's "Lear"* (Louvain).

¹⁰ *The True Text of "King Lear"* (Johns Hopkins Press).

¹¹ His ed. of *Lear* (Oxford), pp. 76-78.

¹² *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (Camb. Univ. Press), pp. 37-67.

¹³ *Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of "King Lear"* (Oxford, 1949).

papers", has recurrently attracted critics. The stage directions have the informality and the speech-headings the variety that one associates with an author's manuscript. But recent critics have been deterred from accepting this theory by the many irregularities in the Q text that can hardly be attributed to Shakespeare.¹⁴ Although the third alternative, based on either memorial reconstruction or memorial contamination, is the one generally accepted today, it is accepted with no great enthusiasm. Professor Duthie, for instance, hesitates to believe that Q, with all its faults, was transmitted through one or two men's memories (p. 75), and yet shows more than the usual scholarly caution in presenting his own theory of communal participation (p. 116): "I would emphasize my awareness that my theory of the genesis of the Q text is highly conjectural in various respects. It is the only theory that I can think of which will account for everything: and that is its only defence." Although Sir Walter Greg agrees that Duthie's theory "has been rather reluctantly accepted for want of a better" (*First Folio*, p. 380), he is, on the other hand, not entirely satisfied with Miss Walker's hypothesis of memorial contamination. Before giving it provisional endorsement in the summary (p. 427) to his study *The Shakespeare First Folio*, he makes the cautionary comment (p. 383): "It is to be feared that a consideration of the various theories so far advanced can only lead to the conclusion that it remains as true today as it was twenty-five years ago that *King Lear* still offers a problem for investigation."

Under the circumstances a student of Shakespeare may be justified in asking what the theory of worn manuscript pages has to offer toward a solution of the problem. Manuscript pages worn along their lower edges certainly suggest repeated handling. And repeated handling of dramatic pages suggests a prompt-book.^{14a} The sheets of the prompt-book, written on both sides and turned and re-turned during rehearsals and performances, would have met with wear and tear beyond that normally affecting other dramatic documents. We are thus brought back, surprisingly, to a consideration of Van Dam's hypothesis that the printer's copy was a prompt-book despite present-day rejection of the hypothesis. Scholars have rejected it because of aspects of Q that have not been considered characteristic of prompt-books, such as the failure to mark important entries and exits, the lack of preciseness in stage directions ("Enter Gloster brought in by two or three." III. vii. 26;¹⁵ and "Enter Cordelia, Doctor and others." IV. iv. 1); and an inconsistency in referring to the same characters in stage directions and speech-headings ("Lear" or "King"; "Regan" or "Duchess"; "Edgar" or "Tom"). Such traits suggest rather, as Greg admits (p. 377), the informality and off-hand manner of the author himself. And yet scholars have not felt justified in accepting this other implication because of the textual irregularities in Q that could not have originated with the author. In short, the stage directions by their informality support the idea of an author's manuscript and oppose that of

¹⁴ See Greg, *The Shak. First Folio*, pp. 377-379.

^{14a} Wilhelmine D. Frijlinck, editor of *Richard II or Thomas of Woodstocke* (Malone Society), makes a similar deduction concerning that play (p. vi): "The manuscript has suffered severely from wear and tear, showing its long use as a prompt-copy in the playhouse. In many places the leaves, now mended, have been torn, the margins have been much frayed and the paper soiled where it has been thumbed in turning. As a result on many pages much of the top and bottom lines is lost or illegible." As a matter of fact, on examining a reprint of the manuscript, I find far more damage done to the bottom lines than to the top ones.

¹⁵ Italics mine.

a prompt-book, while the dialogue, through its omitted passages, supports the idea of a prompt-book and, through its erroneous readings, opposes that of an author's manuscript.¹⁶

A re-examination of the whole problem in the light of the theory of worn pages is clearly called for, and, if my logic is sound, it may reconcile seemingly contradictory evidence and lead to an acceptance of the Q printer's copy as both the author's manuscript and the players' prompt-book. It must be remembered, however, that we will now be considering not an author's normal manuscript and normal prompt-book, but a seriously worn one. Our conclusions will inevitably differ from those of previous writers, who have felt impelled by the weight of the evidence to postulate a document that was neither author's manuscript nor prompt-book.

The traits of Q that seem most at variance with the concept of an original manuscript are many.¹⁷ They comprise corrupt and unintelligible passages; auditory errors, thought the result of the mishearing of dictated words ("should . . . of" for "should . . . haue", V. iii. 306; and "in sight" for "incite", IV. iv. 27);¹⁸ recollected and anticipated words and phrases (erroneous readings presumably suggested by memories of the same words and phrases earlier or later in the text); inversions ("giue me an egge Nuncle" for "Nuncle, giue me an egge", I. iv. 154); superfluous and unmetrical exclamations, vocatives, and connecting words ("Why what canst thou tell my boy?" for "What can'st tell Boy?" I. v. 16); eccentric punctuation; misassigned speeches; and, finally, the widely recurrent mislineation—verse printed as prose, prose printed as verse, and verse printed as verse, but incorrectly aligned. In fact, this last group, representing the three types of mislineation, has been the most challenging textual feature of the play, regardless of the theory considered. It has seemed impossible to discover any pattern in the fortuitous occurrence of the incorrectly printed passages. They are not limited to any portion of the play, or to the speeches of any character or characters. They are not uniform in length, running as they do from a line and a half to almost an entire scene of 78 lines. And in some speeches the mislining occurs at the beginning, in others at the end, and in still others in the middle. As Chambers puts it (I, 465): "The verse is often put wrong by an initial error,

¹⁶ Not all worn manuscripts, however, may be assumed to be prompt-books. In such a manuscript as that of the anonymous play *Charlemagne* (dated ca. 1605?), where "all [the leaves] are a good deal worn at the foot" (Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, I, 261), and where, I discover, all but the last five leaves have regularly lost one or two lines at the foot of both sides, the uniformity of the wearing suggests rather the effect of dampness or passing years or perhaps the work of mice, although the document does seem to be a prompt-book. But with those manuscripts in which a few leaves only are defective at top or bottom while other leaves remain relatively undamaged, one may reasonably assume repeated handling in the theatre. Such a manuscript is that of Anthony Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* (ca. 1590?), in which fols. 1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12 have lost lines on both recto and verso at either top or bottom, while the other six leaves, excluding the very fragmentary final leaf, are relatively intact. The anonymous *Richard II* (ca. 1592-1595) exhibits similar characteristics: lost or damaged lines at the foot of fols. 161^r, 165^r, 172^r; lost words at the lower outer corner of fols. 169^r, 175^r, 177^r, 179^r, 179^v, and at the lower outer corner of both sides of the last five leaves of the play, while the other leaves, though worn in places, are still legible throughout. Although the amount of wear and tear evident in the extant dramatic manuscripts of the period never approaches that which I have assumed for the manuscript of *Lea*r, it should be remembered that less popular plays inevitably involve less frequent handling.

¹⁷ Excellently classified, listed, and described by Duthie (*Lea*r, pp. 46-116).

¹⁸ In the four instances cited in this paragraph, I give the Q reading first, the F second.

and runs from central pause to central pause, until another error or the end of a speech recovers it."

Several explanations have been advanced to account for this irregularity. Miss Doran thought that the lines could have been "additional or revisional matter written on the margin in such a way that the printer of the quarto was unable to make out the divisions of the verse" (p. 128). Duthie, however, argues (pp. 90-92) that "there is a limit to the possible length of such marginal insertions" and that her theory does not explain the two extended stretches of verse printed as prose (I. iv. 199-349; II. i. 14-95) or the two scenes that are almost entirely mislined whether prose or verse (III. ii; III. vi).

Professor Edward Hubler has made the suggestion¹⁹ that most of this mislineation and confusion of verse with prose sprang from the printer's desire to save space. In several instances, it is true, space was saved—whether intentionally or not—but Greg has pointed out²⁰ other passages where the two versions are of the same length, and one passage in particular in which, after presumably struggling to save a whole line by crowding extra words into earlier lines, the compositor wasted what he had saved by unmetrically and unnecessarily placing the last two words of the speech in a line by themselves (III. ii. 2-9).²¹ At best this explanation could account for relatively few cases, while, according to Hubler's own count, Q contains 61 lines of prose printed as verse, some 500 lines of verse printed as prose, and 650 lines of mislined verse, one third of the play being incorrectly aligned.

Greg came to the conclusion²² that the printer's copy must have once been written entirely as prose and that the compositor, or compositors, later figured out what seemed the correct verse-division. Duthie accepts the theory in principle, modifying it, however, by suggesting the playhouse scribe as the person introducing the verse-division (pp. 104-105). On the basis of the theory of communal reconstruction, a scribe, writing rapidly from dictation, might well have found it difficult to preserve the original alignment and would later have tried to remedy the defect by inserting diagonal lines in his manuscript. But this supposition, too, involves a difficulty. Although Duthie grants (p. 104) that the scribe must have "varied in conscientiousness and efficiency in different passages", we may well ask if it is humanly possible for one person to vary to such a degree. Could a man who was able to impose absolutely correct scansion on 1580 lines of undivided and difficult verse—the freer blank verse of Shakespeare's maturity—go to pieces completely²³ over some 650 lines scattered through the 1580 correct ones? One either knows how to scan or one does not.

If, however, we introduce into the problem the possibility that the printer's copy was a badly worn prompt-book and if we keep in mind Miss Doran's suggestion of marginal notations, then a possible explanation will emerge that is also not inconsistent with this copy's having been Shakespeare's manuscript as

¹⁹ *The Parrott Presentation Volume*, ed. Hardin Craig (1935), pp. 430-431.

²⁰ *Library*, ser. 4, XVII (1936-1937), 172-183.

²¹ A clear case of mislineation to save space appears near the end of the play, where the compositor compressed 18 lines of verse (V. iii. 295-309, 311-312) into 12 lines of prose so as to end the play at the foot of the page.

²² *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, 2d ed. (1951), p. 95.

²³ I use this word advisedly. The lines in question are not near misses; they are out-and-out failures.

well. Let us consider for a moment the Jacobean prompter as he followed the speeches of this popular play during rehearsals and performances. While turning and re-turning the pages, he could not but have noticed the growing illegibility of certain passages. Might he not have tried to save them by jotting them down in some convenient place, such as in a near-by margin? The left-hand margin of the page was approximately two inches in width—one quarter of the width of the paper itself—and the prompter, by turning the manuscript on its side, could have written the lines the long way of the margin. Since speech-headings were rigorously abbreviated, there would of course have been space here to accommodate a number of lines, but since speech-headings were too important to be in any way obscured, the prompter might often have felt compelled to fit his lines as best he could into the available space, and on occasion even to sacrifice the line-arrangement. Years later, when the play came to be printed, a compositor insensitive to metrical rhythms could have done little else than set up the lines as he found them. Since the dramatic manuscripts of the period rarely show capital letters at the beginnings of lines of verse, the compositor would probably have recognized poetry only by its short lines of uneven length, and prose by its long lines extending on through the right-hand margin to the edge of the paper.²⁴ Presumably he would have used these criteria in deciding between verse and prose and would then have reproduced the exact alignment of the lines he thought verse.

There were, however, other resources available to a busy prompter seeking extra space. He could have kept the manuscript in its normal position and have written *across* the two-inch left-hand margin, although here there would have been no chance of preserving the original alignment. He could have utilized, too, the narrower and more uneven right-hand margin. Or he could have written his lines on small strips of paper and pasted the strips down by one edge so as to extend them across the page.

Dramatic manuscripts of the period show additions and notations made in these several ways. An easily accessible illustration of lines written up the margin may be found in Greg's edition of *Sir Thomas More*, in The Malone Society Reprints—the second facsimile in the book—although the passage here was added by the author himself, not the scribe or prompter, and scans perfectly. An addition running across a margin appears in the reproduction of fol. 191a of *The Lady Mother* in Volume II of Greg's *Elizabethan Dramatic Documents*, but these lines both look like prose and *are* prose, and are also probably the work of the author. In the same volume, in the facsimile of fol. 48a of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, one may see reproduced the slips of paper that were occasionally pasted across the manuscript page. But the most significant item, involving, as it does, both a marginal addition and incorrectly divided verse, appears in the reproduction of fol. 20a of Massinger's *Believe as You List* in the same volume. Here the scribe made the entry, and, to help the prompter anticipate what was coming, copied into the lower right-hand corner of the page one complete line and two half-lines of verse that the author had written at the top of the following page—that is, on the reverse side of the sheet of

²⁴ Hubler points out (pp. 426-427) that although Heywood's *If You Know Not Me* was written almost entirely as prose, the compositor failed to recognize it as such and set it up almost entirely as verse.

paper. In so doing, the scribe completely disregarded the verse-division, arranging the words as they happened to fit—eight words on the first line, five on the second, and one word by itself on the third. This entry, as Greg notes, although verse, has the appearance of prose.²⁵

In such ways as these, I believe, almost all of the incorrectly aligned passages in Q could have originated. Throughout the better part of the play the irregularities are not too frequent to have found place in the two margins and on pasted slips. Even the scene distinguished by its constant mingling of incorrect verse with incorrect prose (III. ii) could, with a little squeezing, have been accommodated thus. It runs to 78 lines, and contains, scattered through it, twelve perfectly scanned lines, presumably either remnants of Shakespeare's own writing or lines that the prompter had been able to copy correctly. In this scene the type of irregularity changes, curiously, with the change in speaker as if the individual speeches had been copied down at different times or in different places. The first speech, spoken by Lear, is mislined verse. The second, by the Fool, is prose printed as verse. The third, another speech of Lear's, contains mislined verses in its latter portion. The fourth, one of the Fool's jingles, is printed as prose despite its conspicuous rhymes. Then, following three very brief speeches, come two longer ones, by Kent and by Lear, both of which are mislined verse. After these is a speech of Kent's, which is verse printed as prose; then one by Lear that is partly mislined verse; and, finally, another song of the Fool's, which, like his earlier one, is printed as prose!²⁶

There is, however, one feature of the mislineation that cannot be explained in these ways. This is the pair of extremely long passages of verse set up as unbroken prose—one of 151 lines (I. iv. 199-349), the other, some sixty lines later, of 82 lines (II. i. 14-95). In these two there is not a single line suggestive of the original verse pattern, not even in the two jingles of the Fool. I can only offer three tentative suggestions. Perhaps the array of marginal jottings and pasted slips proved, at this point, too much for the Q compositor, who took the simple way out by setting the whole thing up as prose. Or perhaps the playhouse book-keeper had earlier found these two portions of his manuscript so completely worn that he decided to rewrite them afresh on new paper, and either could not recover the verse-lining from his own marginal jottings or else had at hand only narrow strips of paper cut for actors' parts, approximately 6 by 16 inches, rather than full-size sheets. In this case, the crowded lines covering these strips might later have appeared prose to our compositor.²⁷ Or, lastly, since the two long passages of incorrect prose are preceded by 192 lines of authentic prose—save for three songs of the Fool—and are separated from each other by 62 more lines of prose, the compositor may have become so accustomed

²⁵ *Dram. Docs.*, I, 234. See also C. J. Sisson, "Bibliographical Aspects of some Stuart Dramatic Manuscripts", *RES*, I (1925), 423-424.

²⁶ The possibility that mislined verse might result from marginal notations was suggested as far back as 1924 by Dover Wilson in the New Camb. ed. of *Dream*. Scattered through the first 84 lines of Act V are 8 incorrectly aligned passages, which Wilson thought to be revisional additions written by Shakespeare in margins too narrow to take lines of normal length. Since Shakespearian revision seems less probable today than it did in 1924, might not these, too, be instances of mislineation resulting from scribal copying of fading lines in the margins of a prompt-book?

²⁷ There are passages (particularly lines 492-507) in the actor's part of Orlando, in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, that, though verse, could be mistaken for prose. (Reproduced in Greg, *Dram. Docs.*, II)

to prose that when he twice reached verse in his copy, he unthinkingly continued to set it up as prose until brought to a halt by the keen-eyed press-corrector. From this point on, the amount of incorrect prose shrinks almost to zero.²⁸

It is clearly impossible to determine the circumstances under which the prompter or book-keeper or scribe—or the single person performing all three functions—copied out these many passages in his worn prompt-book, whether during rehearsals and performances or afterwards as individual actors dictated their lines to him at his request, or even while having recourse to the actors' parts or to the scribe's fair copy of the play. But what is important is that whenever he was forced to depend upon the actors' memories rather than upon a written manuscript, he inevitably introduced into the situation the same two factors—inaccurate recollection of memorized speeches and misunderstanding of the spoken word—that are fundamental to the theories of memorial reconstruction and memorial contamination. It is therefore clear that the numerous auditory errors and the slips of memory²⁹ on which these two theories depend could have originated just as easily while the players were performing their regular duties as actors or helping patch up a worn prompt-book as while they were reconstructing a complete prompt-book afresh. For this reason, my theory may be looked upon, I believe, as a new variant of the theory of memorial reconstruction.

A much less challenging problem arising from the Q text is that of the incorrectly assigned speeches. Duthie admits (pp. 83-89) that they are not numerous and shows how several could have resulted from a compositor's carelessness. Others, it seems to me, could have been caused by the wearing away of speech-headings and the compositor's subsequent attempts at restoration.^{29a} If, for instance, in the line quoted below and obviously correct in its F version, the prefix and the 12st word had become illegible, the compositor might have reconstructed the line to conclude with the familiar phrase "prove my title good", and would then have logically assigned the speech to Edmund.

F: *Reg.* Let the Drum strike, and proue my title thine.

Q: *Bast.* Let the drum strike, and proue my title good. (V. 3. 82)

The last of the textual irregularities of Q is its erratic punctuation, composed, as it is, almost entirely of commas, most of which are superfluous. Duthie has tabulated the punctuation marks of the first two acts—1356 lines—and finds (p. 106) that while the speeches, in general, close with the proper punctuation, yet *within the speeches* the surprising number of 1534 commas appear as against 87 instances of all other punctuation marks taken together. Greg surmised (*Editorial Problem*, p. 95) that "the printer had before him copy that was altogether without punctuation", and that the compositors of the printing house inserted what we find in Q. Duthie tentatively agreed with him,³⁰ and I see no reason

²⁸ There may be other possibilities as well. In fact, had not Philip Williams proved it unlikely ("The Compositor of the 'Pied Bull' *Lear*," *SB*, I (1948), 59-68), I would have suggested that there were two compositors working on this play, one better acquainted with verse than the other.

²⁹ This last item comprises the corrupt passages, the recollected and the anticipated words and phrases, the inversions, and the superfluous and unmetrical exclamations, vocatives, and connecting words.

^{29a} The manuscript of the anonymous *Richard II* shows speech-headings missing from the lower portion of the verso of six leaves near the end of the play, namely, fols. 179^v, 181^v, 182^v, 183^v, 184^v, 185^v.

³⁰ That is, in one of his hypothetical suggestions (pp. 106-107), the other suggestion being that

to disagree, beyond suggesting that the original manuscript may have had slight punctuation rather than none at all. The ignorance of the rules of punctuation displayed here is in line with my hypothetical compositor's ignorance of the rules of prosody.

It is in their identification of the original writer of the printer's copy, however, that I differ with these scholars. According to the theory of memorial reconstruction the individual in question would have been the playhouse scribe, too busy writing from dictation to think of punctuation marks. But according to the theory of worn pages we are dealing with Shakespeare's own manuscript and therefore that individual would have been Shakespeare himself. And I see no improbability in assuming that the dramatist was sparing of commas and periods—that is, when he was not writing for publication. If three pages in the manuscript play *Sir Thomas More* are in Shakespeare's handwriting, as many scholars believe, we have confirmatory evidence. In the 147 lines on these pages, I have found, counting all the punctuation marks there, only 35 commas, 5 periods, 4 semicolons, and one apostrophe. No mark of punctuation appears in or after the single stage direction. Only one of the 33 speeches has any mark of punctuation at its end—in this case, a period—and only one of the 33 speech-headings is followed by a mark—again a period—although many of the speech-headings are abbreviated. If the original manuscript of *King Lear* had been given similarly scanty punctuation and had subsequently fallen into the hands of a compositor who made up in enthusiasm for what he lacked in knowledge, the result might well resemble the situation in Q. But if, on the other hand, these three pages are not in Shakespeare's handwriting, we then have no knowledge whatsoever about his habits of punctuating, and one person's guess is as likely as another's. But we do know that one professional dramatist of the 1590's wrote 147 lines of dialogue using only 35 commas, 5 periods, 4 semicolons, and one apostrophe.⁸¹

I turn now from considering the hypothetical document as Shakespeare's manuscript to considering it as a prompt-book. The strongest piece of evidence in support of this possibility is the presumption that the lower edges of nine of its pages had been worn away. Contrary evidence, on the other hand, while not extensive, has been sufficient to persuade scholars that the document could only have been a preliminary draft leading to a prompt-book, not the finished book itself. The evidence comprises, as I have pointed out, the omission of essential entrances and exits, the lack of preciseness in stage directions, and the inconsistency in referring to characters in both stage directions and speech-headings—features that would presumably have made prompting difficult. These same features, however, critics agree, may suggest the hand of the author, and to that extent they reinforce my thesis. The problem then is to discover why the playhouse scribe, in readying the manuscript for use as a prompt-book, seems to have failed to normalize and supplement the stage directions.

One answer may be readily deduced from my hypothesis, namely, that dis-

the playhouse scribe may have inserted these many commas either while hurriedly writing from dictation or later.

⁸¹ Cf. Greg, *Editorial Problem*, p. 95: "We know that manuscripts were often inadequately punctuated." The most cursory examination of facsimiles and reprints of Elizabethan dramatic manuscripts will make evident how very few punctuation marks the dramatists of the time normally used.

integrating prompt-books suffer wear and tear at the sides of pages as well as at the foot.^{81a} Since brief stage direction were, as a rule, placed in the left- and righthand margins, several of those written by Shakespeare or by the scribe could have been worn away before the document reached the printing house. A suggestion of such attrition appears at II. iv. 285, where, in place of the modern stage direction, "Exeunt Lear, Gloster, Kent, and the Fool", Q reads surprisingly: "Exeunt Lear, Leister, Kent, and Foole." Duthie suggests (p. 394) "that the initial 'G' of 'Gloster' was illegible," and that "o" was misread as "e". Conceivably, the word could have suffered from wear and tear. Besides this, there are three stage directions missing from Q at places so close to lines of dialogue also missing that it is logical to seek a common cause for their disappearance. At the corresponding places in F, we find an "Exit" standing beside III. iv. 26-27; a stage direction, "Enter Edgar, and Foole", immediately preceding III. iv. 37; and another "Exit" close to IV. ii. 26. Since the stage directions and the lines of text are all missing from Q, I again assume the possibility of wear and tear.

Other items, however, might have become obscured by the accumulation of marginal jottings in the manuscript and have, in this way, escaped the notice of the compositor as he was setting type. That such a happening occurred on at least three occasions is reasonably clear from three oddly placed stage directions in Q.⁸² These directions, standing out isolated in the margins of their pages, must have been first overlooked by the compositor and then later discovered by him or by the press-corrector⁸³ after the whole page in each case had been set up in type. Not wishing to reset the page, and seeing no possibility, with at least two, of crowding the directions into the text, the compositor decided to utilize a portion of the page normally left blank.⁸⁴ Surely other stage directions could have been overlooked, but *not* restored. Out of the 50 items listed by Duthie (pp. 109-115) as omitted in their entirety from Q, some 33 would probably have appeared as single words, "Exit" or "Exeunt". And in any age brief notations drop out easily. As for the stage directions that are partially missing ("Enter Lear" for "Enter Lear, Kent, Gentleman, and Foole", I. v. 1), the words not found in Q may have been duly added in the margin by the scribe—as seems to have often happened, to judge from the extant dramatic manuscripts—and then have been overlooked or worn away.

A third possibility is that certain of these missing items were never written at all. Perhaps prompt-books were in use in that period that had not been as

^{81a} In fact, occasional dramatic manuscripts of the time suffered greater loss to the righthand margin of the recto and the left-hand margin of the verso—the outer margins, in other words—than at the lower edge of the page. Eleanore Boswell, editor of *Edmond Ironside* (Malone Society), says of the manuscript of that play, which is dated 1590-1600?: "By far the greatest damage had befallen the outer edges, which are very badly worn just where the pages would be thumbed in turning" (p. vi). She does add, however, that "some other agent, a mouse or damp, probably contributed to the mutilation", and points out that "there is no telling what marginal addenda have been obliterated." This manuscript has been accepted by both Greg and Miss Boswell as a prompt-book.

⁸² "Enter Edgar" (I. ii. 128); "Enter Edgar" (II. i. 16): "Enter Glo." (II. iv. 293).

⁸³ Since the directions are found on pages of Q that have been preserved in only one state, it cannot be determined which of the two men discovered their absence.

⁸⁴ In Q there is also an omitted speech-heading that was later supplied. One of Edmund's speeches is printed without speech-heading in the single copy of the page that is in its uncorrected state, but in the copies showing its corrected state it is preceded—a little out of alignment—by the abbreviation for Bastard, "Ba." (I. ii. 36).

meticulously edited as we have imagined. The players may have been given more responsibility for getting themselves on and off the stage than they are at present. They may have been expected to follow with greater care the action implied in the dialogue and to consult regularly the list of entrances and exits on the so-called "plot", the single sheet of stage directions posted backstage during performances. Perhaps prompters did not expect a specific reminder, such as "Exit an Attendant", after a line such as Lear's (I. iv. 76): "goe you cal hither my foole." No direction appears in Q, and the action may have seemed evident. Even in F, which, critics agree, is at least partially dependent upon a prompt-book, there is no stage direction here or in several similar places. In fact, along with the 50 stage directions completely missing from Q, Duthie lists 17 that are completely missing from F. It has also been noted that in the one extant actor's part from the Elizabethan period, exits and entrances are not always indicated.⁸⁵ As I look over Duthie's list, I count 38 directions missing from Q that would yet have been evident to me from the dialogue.

The same informal, off-hand attitude toward details may partly explain the lack of uniformity in characters' names in speech-headings and stage directions as well as the occasional vagueness in indicating the number of non-speaking actors appearing in the scene. Such matters as this last may possibly have been left to the prompter and the players to decide. Performances were not immediately repeated in Shakespeare's age, and the number of non-speaking actors may have varied from time to time. And there is still always the possibility of loss from wear and tear or loss from a compositor's carelessness.

Sir Walter Greg once suggested to Miss Walker a theory that comes close to that set forth in this paper, namely, that "defective foul papers had been supplemented by memorial reconstruction".⁸⁶ The two scholars, however, rejected the idea for three reasons. They felt that there is "evidence of transcription throughout"; that such a theory would not account for "the exceptional difficulty Okes [the printer of Q] had with the handwriting of the copy": and that "the papers are unlikely to have become damaged at so early a date." The first two objections I have tried to meet in this article. The third, I confess, is a difficult one to answer. I had formerly believed with the critics that Mad Tom's list of devils (IV. i. 61-63) was taken from a book published in 1603, Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, and that, since the first quarto of *King Lear* was registered in November, 1607, there could have been no more than a four-year gap between the writing and the registering of the play. I even considered it highly probable that Shakespeare was thinking of the eclipses of 1605 when he gave Gloucester the speech referring to "these late eclipses" (I. ii. 99), and I was inclined to narrow the gap down to two years. But having since re-examined the problem and altered my opinion, I shall try to meet the scholars' final objection with two hypothetical suggestions and one forthright statement. It may be, as has been suggested, that Shakespeare spoke of the eclipses before they had occurred regardless of the fact that Gloucester refers to them as taking place in the past. They had been anticipated as early as 1588, Chambers tells us,

⁸⁵ Greg, *Dram. Docs.*, I, 180-181.

⁸⁶ Greg, *First Folio*, p. 382, n. 19; and Walker, *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (Camb. Univ. Press, 1953), p. 50. But despite her rejection of the theory Miss Walker still felt (p. 67) that "the quarto text is much closer to the foul papers than is widely supposed."

(*Shakespeare*, I, 468). And it may be that Shakespeare and Harsnett both took their list of devils from an earlier source now lost. But, in any case, we have no definite knowledge at present either of the amount of handling that prompt-books could endure in general or of special circumstances that might have affected this manuscript in particular.

Such is my reinterpretation of the conflicting evidence relating to Q, and I conclude by sketching the textual history of Q as I see it shaped by my theory. After receiving Shakespeare's manuscript and while writing out the actor's parts and making the fair copy, the playhouse scribe probably did a little editing of his own, noticeable now in the differences between the stage directions of F and Q⁸⁷ and perhaps also in many of the brief textual variants where Q provides the better reading. I assume that the author's manuscript was used for a prompt-book from the first since, according to my theory, extensive wearing must have occurred by 1607. As certain speeches grew illegible, the prompter or the scribe salvaged them in various ways. But when the lower portions of nine of its thirty-odd sheets had worn away, the manuscript was discarded as useless. Someone retrieved it, however, from the trash basket, and sold it, late in 1607 to Nathaniel Butter and John Busby. These men, or at least one of them, had it printed the next year, presumably without help from the players, for with their fair copy to guide them they could have supplied the omitted and defective passages. I believe, too, that the compositor was not given a transcript of the manuscript to set type from, but worked from the tattered leaves themselves. Greg's study of the differences between corrected and uncorrected pages of Q indicates that the printer's copy contained words and phrases which at times baffled the compositor, but which the press-corrector was able, after a fashion, to make out⁸⁸—a situation that would be unlikely to develop with a transcript.

In some such way as this, I believe, Shakespeare's manuscript found its way into print. And should doubts arise as to a publisher's willingness to offer, for a stolen and defective manuscript, sufficient money to tempt a thief, the reader should remember that however little the purloiner received, the money would be pure gain since the manuscript had cost him nothing, and however much the publisher had to pay, only by such payment could he acquire a copy of this highly popular play written by his country's most popular dramatist.

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⁸⁷ Numerous differences between the stage directions of F and Q constitute one of the distinguishing characteristics of this group of 6 plays whose Q texts show paired omissions.

⁸⁸ *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear"* (Bibliographical Society, 1940), p. 136. Something the compositor read as "a nellthu night mare" (III. iv. 119) the press-corrector was able to decipher as "he met the night mare". But the latter was not always so successful.

The "Cinna" and "Cynicke" Episodes in *Julius Caesar*

NORMAN N. HOLLAND



ULIUS Caesar is probably Shakespeare's neatest play. Spare in language, sparse in incident, the tragedy runs in a straight line to its conclusion, except for two episodes: the murder of Cinna the poet by the mob (III.iii) and the intrusion of the cynic-poet (IV.iii.124-138) into the quarrel scene between Brutus and Cassius. At first glance, these episodes seem irrelevant excrescences that stand out against the smooth and simple texture of the rest of the play. Both episodes, of course, appear in the main source, North's *Plutarch*, but Shakespeare in the rest of the play alters, omits from, and adds to his source freely. It would be most un-Shakespearian of him to include these episodes merely because they appear in *Plutarch* without making them add to the meaning of the play as a whole. He does not, of course, merely include them—he changes them to fit his needs, and, though no critic has yet commented on those changes, they are singularly revealing of Shakespeare's purposes in *Julius Caesar* as a whole.

North's version of the Cinna episode is as follows:

There was one of *Caesars* frinds called *Cinna*, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Caesar* bad him to supper, and that he refused, & would not go: then that *Caesar* tooke him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now *Cinna*, hearing at that time that they burnt *Caesars* body in the market place, notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market place to honor his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto an other, so that it ran straight through them all, that hee was one of them that murdered *Caesar*: (for indeed one of the traitors to *Caesar* was also called *Cinna* as him selfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell upon him with such fury that they presently dispatched him in the market place.¹

Even in this form, the episode plays into one of the chief complexes of imagery in *Julius Caesar*—sleep as an image for harmony and order ("Sleeke-headed men, and such as sleepe a-nights") and sleep disturbed as an image for disorder. (Brutus, Portia, Cassius, Calphurnia, and most of the conspirators go without sleep at one time or another.)

Shakespeare's changes in wording make the episode fit other sets of images. For example, his re-wording of Cinna's dream, "I dreamt to night, that I did

¹ *Plutarch, Life of Caesar*, sec. 45; text from North's *Plutarch*, ed. 1595.

feast with *Caesar*", must surely have reminded his audience of Christ's statement to one of the thieves, "Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43). As such, Cinna's statement becomes part of a number of Christ-overtone applied to Caesar. Caesar's body, for example, is referred to as food, "a Dish fit for the Gods", to which the conspirators are to be "Sacrificers, but not Butchers". Calphurnia's dream of his blood, says Decius Brutus, somewhat anachronistically,

Signifies, that from you great Rome shall sucke
Reuiuing blood, and that great men shall presse
For Tinctures, Staines, Reliques, and Cognisance.

(II. ii. 86-88)

North's Caesar has "three and twenty" wounds; Shakespeare's has "three and thirtie", the traditional number for Christ's age at the time of the Crucifixion. Finally, there are faint echoes of the Last Supper in Caesar's "Good Friends go in, and taste some wine with me" (II. ii. 126). I do not, of course, mean to suggest that Caesar is a "Christ-figure" in the modern sense; I mean simply that here, as in other cases of murdered monarchs—Richard II, for example—Shakespeare adds to the emotional value of the situation by supplying overtones of the Crucifixion. And he makes Cinna play repentant thief to Caesar's Christ.

Shakespeare's changes fit the episode into the imagery patterns of the play. His changes also make Cinna's brief scene far more dramatic. He replaces North's laconic "presently dispatched him" with the lurid "Teare him to peeces", "Teare him, tear him". The phrase recalls other images of dismemberment in the play, such as Brutus' "To cut the Head off, and then hacke the Limbes" or "Let's carue him, as a Dish fit for the Gods, Not hew him as a Carkasse fit for Hounds" (II. i. 163, 173-174). These other references to dismemberment, of course, apply to Caesar. Echoing the idea here links Cinna to Caesar again. Shakespeare provides another link and adds to the supernatural quality of the episode by changing Cinna's intention to go to the funeral to

I haue no will to wander foorth of doores,
Yet something leads me foorth.

Cinna's unwillingness to leave home, echoes Caesar's "I will stay at home to day", and Caesar's being led forth by the indefinite "something" of Decius Brutus' promises. (In the play as a whole, leaving home usually proves unlucky.)

Shakespeare substitutes for the whispered rumoring of Cinna's name in Plutarch a rapid catechism: "What is your name?" "Whether are you going?" "Where do you dwell?" "Are you a married man, or a Batchellor?" "Answer euery man directly." The questions stab at Cinna as the conspirators' importunities—and their daggers—do at Caesar. Most important, the plebeians' reasons for killing Cinna parallel the ones the conspirators give. Cassius' motive

I had as lief not be, as liue to be
In awe of such a Thing, as I my selfe,

applies with equivalent force to the brashness of the mob in attacking the aristocratic, intellectual Cinna. Even more, "It is no matter, his name's *Cinna*, plucke but his name out of his heart and turne him going", echoes Brutus' foolish wish,

O that we then could come by *Caesars* Spirit,
And not dismember *Caesar*! But (alas)
Caesar must bleed for it.

(II. i. 169-171)

Cinna is, like Caesar, killed not "for the thing he is", but for "what he is, augmented", what he might be. The reference to names looks back to Cassius' complaint,

Brutus and *Caesar*: What should be in that *Caesar*?
Why should that name be sounded more then yours?

The reference to Cinna's name also looks forward to the next scene which begins, "These many then shall die, their names are prickt."

The Cinna episode, then, helps develop images from the play as a whole: sleep, dismemberment, and martyrdom. More important, Cinna's death serves as an echo to Caesar's and, by comparing Brutus' and Cassius' motives to the mob's, and Caesar's death to Christ's, Shakespeare sets a sharp limit to any notion that Brutus and the rest of the conspirators are "honourable men". Cinna's brief scene also looks forward to the "Cynicke" episode. Not only is there the sound of "Cinna" in "Cynicke", but both men are poets, both are said to be bad poets, both are witty—practically the only people in the play who are—and both are associated with Caesar's spirit, Cinna by his dream, and the Cynicke by his appearance (IV. iii. 124) just after Cassius offers his dagger to Brutus to "Strike as thou did'st at *Caesar*" and just before the appearance of the Ghost of Caesar.

The Cynicke's scene (IV. iii. 124-138), being shorter than Cinna's, is somewhat less significant, yet in just these fifteen lines, Shakespeare makes meaningful changes in North's account:

One *Marcus Phaonius*, that had bene a friend and a follower of *Cato* while he lived, and tooke upon him to counterfeate a Philosopher, not with wisdom & discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boot to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sodaine in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers (as who would say, dogs) yet his boldnes did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in despite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeated of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old *Nestor* sayd in *Homer*:

*My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me.
For I have seene moe yeares than suchie three.*

Cassius fell a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeate Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other.²

Whereas North's *Phaonius* "brake their strife", Shakespeare's Cynicke enters after Brutus and Cassius have supposedly patched up their differences. The

² Plutarch, *Life of Brutus*, sec. 25; text from North's *Plutarch*, ed. 1595.

contrast in their responses to the poet suggests, not renewed love, but rather the deep-rooted differences between the two men that have not been and can not be resolved. Brutus is still humorless and idealistic; Cassius is still ironical and realistic. The Cynicke's forced entrance reminds us of other forced entrances, Caius Ligarius', Decius Brutus', Antony's servant's, the commoners' holiday in I. i, the soothsayer's intrusion, and, most important, Brutus' blow:

And as he pluck'd his cursed Steele away,
Marke how the blood of *Caesar* followed it,
As rushing out of doores, to be resolu'd
If *Brutus* so vnkindely knock'd, or no. (III. ii. 182-185)

All these "forced entrances", including the Cynicke's, prove, if not fatal, at least ominous.

The Cynicke's opening, "Tis not meete / They be alone", carries an ominous double meaning. Primarily, of course, it means that Brutus and Cassius should not be left *alone together*, and it is the fact that Brutus and Cassius are left alone together at the Feast of the Lupercal that leads to the assassination. Secondly, the Cynicke's opening phrase suggests that neither man should be left *alone by himself*—an important theme in the play, for their downfall occurs through their being left alone. That is, Brutus and Cassius are defeated because, when their armies are separated, Cassius gives up, mistakenly thinking Brutus has lost.

The Cynicke's doggerel emphasizes "Loue", one of the most significant themes in the play and reminds us, among other things, of Cassius' first overtures to Brutus. The illogic of the poet's argument, that they should be friends because the poet is older than they, suggests the folly of ever trying to combine two such different and incompatible men as Cassius and Brutus—and it was, of course, this foolish combination that was the undoing of both. That is, Cassius feels he has to bring Brutus into the conspiracy because he needs Brutus' honorable reputation:

O, he sits high in all the Peoples hearts:
And that which would appeare Offence in vs,
His Countenance, like richest Alchymie,
Will change to Vertue, and to Worthinesse.
(I. iii. 158-160)

Then, the idealistic Brutus makes the mistakes that undo the conspiracy. Shakespeare's making Phaonius a poet not only reminds us of poor Cinna; it also suggests that harmony we associate with poetry as a contrast to the disharmony of the Brutus-Cassius combination. Indeed, in this very passage, Brutus and Cassius make a broken couplet:

Cas. Ha, ha, how vildely doth this Cynicke rime?
Bru. Get you hence sirra: Sawcy Fellow, hence.
Cas. Beare with him *Brutus*, 'tis his fashion.
Bru. Ile know his humor, when he knowes his time.

The rhyme of lines 133 and 136 is broken by lines 134-5 in which Brutus and Cassius disagree on the attitude to take toward their visitor. In short, then, the Cynicke episode images to us the unbridgeable gap between Brutus and Cassius.

In both cases, then, the seemingly irrelevant episode gives an important perspective on the main action. The Cinna episode, as a miniature of Caesar's death, identifies Brutus' motives with those of the mob and establishes the attitude of the play toward the assassination. That attitude is the traditional one that Caesar was a "great Emperour" and Brutus a vile murderer, an attitude represented by Dante's *Inferno*, Chaucer's Monk's Tale, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*, the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1587 parts),³ and Shakespeare himself in such lines as:

Great men oft die by vile besonians.
 . . . Brutus' bastard hand
 Stabb'd Julius Caesar. (2 Henry VI, IV. i. 134-137)

or,

O traitors! murderers!
 They that stabb'd Caesar shed no blood at all,
 Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,
 If this foul deed were by to equal it. (3 Henry VI, V. v. 52-55)

Indeed, in *Julius Caesar* itself, the omens of Acts I and II, by their very correctness, give a cosmic verification of this attitude toward Caesar's assassination.

The Cynicke episode underscores the theme of separation between Brutus the idealist and Cassius the realist that is their joint tragedy. Cassius' realism can tolerate "ligging Fooles" and Lucius Pella's taking bribes; he cannot tolerate making a "thing" like himself into a god. It is his realism that drives him to assassination, and that very realism makes him suspect to other men and makes him need Brutus' reputation for idealism. Brutus' idealism, in turn, establishes Brutus' motive for the murder: he too easily separates Caesar the man from Caesar the idea. Brutus' idealism also makes him hard and unrealistic, unable to tolerate, even when necessary, bribery or "ligging Fooles". Finally, his idealism leads him to fatal decisions, for example, to let Antony speak at the funeral. The tragedy of Brutus and Cassius, then, is their separateness and forced union, a deadly combination of half-men to kill a whole one and, in so doing, to destroy themselves. *Julius Caesar* is a tragedy of separation, represented by

³ The references are: Chaucer, Monk's Tale, *Canterbury Tales*, B 3885-3900; Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prologue, l. 714; Lydgate, *Falls of Princes*, VI, 2024ff. They are taken from D. S. Brewer, "Brutus' Crime", *RES*, III, n.s. (1952), 51-54.

There is another reference, perhaps even closer to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. T. S. Dorich in the *New Arden* edition of the play (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. vii n., points out that the following passage from John Weever, *The Mirror of Martyrs, or The Life and Death of . . . Sir John Oldcastle* (reprinted in *The Hystorie of the Moste Noble Knight Plasidas and Other Rare Pieces . . . Printed for the Roxburghe Club*, 1873) may refer to a performance of Shakespeare's play:

The many-headed multitude were drawne
 By Brutus speach, that Caesar was ambitious,
 When eloquent Mark Antonie had shewne
 His virtues, who but Brutus then was vitious?

If the passage refers to Shakespeare's play, it would suggest that at least one Elizabethan playgoer felt that Shakespeare's play showed the assassination of Caesar to be a foolish and wicked deed—"vitious."

In the face of all this evidence and the evidence of the Cinna episode within the play, it is very difficult to see any merit in J. Dover Wilson's contention in the *New Cambridge* edition of *Julius Caesar* (pp. xxiii-xxiv) that "The play's theme is the single one, *Liberty versus Tyranny*". Chapman and Jonson may have seen the event that way; Shakespeare did not.

the separation of Caesar's spirit from Caesar's body. The tragedy ends only when that spirit, which, "mighty yet",

walkes abroad, and turnes our Swords
In our owne proper Entrailes,

is laid to rest: "*Caesar*, now be still" (V. v. 50). It is this crucial theme, separation, which the Cynicke episode images.

In *Julius Caesar*, as so often in Shakespeare, it is the details that seem farthest from the heart of the play that shed most light on the central action.

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The 1960 Season at Stratford-upon-Avon

ROBERT SPEAIGHT



HE 1960 season at Stratford-upon-Avon has been interesting for two reasons: firstly because it gave us an idea of what to expect from the new director, Mr. Peter Hall, and secondly because it enabled us to see—not, as usual, a selection of plays showing as many sides of Shakespeare's genius as possible—but a sequence in which his developing conception of comedy could be clearly traced. Mr. Hall is not, of course, a newcomer to Stratford. We have admired his productions of *Cymbeline*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Coriolanus*. He is well acquainted with the theatre—its problems, possibilities and personnel. He also inherits a great tradition from Mr. Byam Shaw, who had exceptional qualities of character as well as a fine artistic judgment. But so exacting are the demands of the Memorial Theatre and its huge public, that Mr. Byam Shaw felt, after eight years of responsibility, that it was time for him to hand over to a younger man; and he had every confidence that Mr. Hall would bring a new mind and new methods to the constant re-interpretation of Shakespeare. Mr. Byam Shaw had pursued what we may describe as a star policy. That is to say, he had persuaded the best actors on the English stage to come to Stratford, often at some financial sacrifice, and play the great parts. The results were generally, though not always, remarkable. I am not suggesting that the productions were unbalanced; but a number of people—Mr. Byam Shaw himself among them—had been haunted by the dream of a more or less permanent company developing a consistent style. In particular there was felt to be room for improvement in the speaking of the verse. This policy and these reforms have now been taken in hand by Mr. Peter Hall.

Mr. Hall on T.V. had already told us something of his plans. Nobody ever feels quite satisfied with the relation between the stage and the auditorium at Stratford. It required very big acting to "get across", and I have known performances, which would have had a tremendous impact in a smaller theatre, fail for this reason. So Mr. Hall began by explaining the changes he proposed to make in his fore-stage. Instead of opening out into the audience like a fan, this was to converge upon them like a wedge. Mr. Hall is an unpedantic Elizabethan—which is of course the proper thing for a Shakespearian producer to be—and what he has lost in space he has gained in concentration. And the new false prosceniums are an effective frame for the background. I was afraid that this space might be wasted, because the action is rightly pushed forward. But in *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Winter's Tale* it was used to great effect.

In regard to the speaking of the verse, Mr. Hall wanted to discover a mean between what he described as "emotional booming" and the pretence that poetry

is prose. Here the improvement has been immense. With a few exceptions, the range and beauty of voice are not remarkable, but everyone speaks with intelligence, clarity and rhythm. And in one other respect Mr. Hall has earned our gratitude; the plays are given practically uncut. This ought to be taken for granted, but you never know what tricks producers will be up to—even at Stratford-upon-Avon. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was an excellent choice to begin with, because it already states a number of the themes which we find elaborated in the later comedies. Mr. Hall had seen the play in its sequence—a play where the sunshine is already throwing its long shadows—a play far removed from the “light and jocund Italianate comedy” which was all that Quiller-Couch could see in *The Two Gentlemen*. To emphasize this Mr. Hall called on Miss Lila de Nobili to provide the same sort of coloring that she had provided for *Twelfth Night*. I do not think she was so successful with the earlier play as she had been with the later one. Her costumes were much less attractive. When Julia sets forth on what she imagines will be a happy quest, she would hardly have done so in deep mourning. Furthermore Mr. Hall decided to use his revolve. The method is convenient, and can produce, as it does here, its ingenious variations. But the isolated fragments of scenery, continually showing us a new face, have the effect of breaking up the play instead of pulling it together. We saw later how a more restrained use of the revolve could help *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Nor did the production deploy the company at anything like its full strength. In some respects it was seriously undercast, and it was left to Mr. Patrick Wymark as Lance and Mr. Jack MacGowran as Speed to hint at pleasures in store. Admirably contrasted in personality and girth, each knows how to twist an audience round his little finger. Mr. Wymark had the bigger opportunity and how gloriously—how gluttonously—he took it! I am not in the counsels of Stratford, but I shall be disappointed if we do not see, before long, one of the finest Falstaffs of our time. One was grateful, too, for the good speaking throughout; and behind the whole production one could discern the clear outline of allegory. Sir Eglamour is not one of the greater Shakespearian roles, but his costume and make-up recalled us from the world of Machiavelli to the world of Malory—which is where this play really belongs. The perfunctory ending failed to shock because one was allowed to see what Shakespeare was getting at, even if he was getting at it crudely; to hear through these entanglements “the inly voice of love”; and to watch, in its earliest functioning, the operation of Shakespearian justice.

The Taming of the Shrew is a play that I have always cordially disliked; but I should have remembered that there was a time when I even turned up my nose at *Much Ado*, until Mr. Douglas Seale's production revealed it to me at Stratford two years ago. It is in this sense that Mr. Barker's production of *The Shrew* was a revelation. It had, for me, the character of finality. An older and almost forgotten England relived before one's eyes. Social and moral values, long since discarded; humours that hardly survived outside the Music Hall; a tradition of genial and unsentimental caricature—all this was in the air as one left the theatre. When at last I retired to bed, I could not sleep for thinking of it; and I am thinking of it still.

I say “English” advisedly, because attempts are constantly being made to

turn the play into an Italianate Harlequinade. "Commedia dell' Arte" are three words that spring easily to the lips of clever young producers who wince at boot and saddle. Now the first merit of Mr. Barker's production is not its inventiveness, which is unfailing, but its honesty, which is absolute. If you cannot look a play of Shakespeare's in the eye, you had much better not look at it at all. This is the Shrew that Shakespeare drew, tracing its pedigree right down from Chaucer and Langland, and from the carvings that a curious eye may discover on the choir-stalls of an English, or a French, cathedral. For the assumptions which lie behind *The Taming of the Shrew* were still common to all Europe; we find them in Villon and Rabelais, as well as in Ben Jonson, just as we catch their later echoes in Molière rather than in Congreve.

Nothing is more universal than an inn—unless it be a church; and the inn which Miss Alix Stone had designed for Mr. Barker suggested all the difference between an inn and a community center—and that is all the difference in the world. Having decided to use his revolve, Mr. Barker did not overdo the trick. Two faces to one set, not too frequently changing, were enough. But of course the best of inns is nothing without actors at the bar. Here Dame Peggy Ashcroft and Mr. Peter O'Toole—Stratford's latest discovery—had seen straight to the heart of the question. If the *Shrew* is to succeed, it is essential that we should like Petruchio and Katherine, and that they should be seen to like each other. It is not easy to dislike Dame Peggy, even when she is cudgelling her sister, and she made it clear to us, in a flash of fine acting, that she had fallen in love with Petruchio at first sight. There is tenderness and humor underneath these tantrums and this tyranny, a certain Shakespearian delicacy, which the exigencies of farce had not been able to dispel and which these two performances marvellously disclosed. I have seen nothing in the theatre more spontaneous and yet more accurately judged than the scenes which Dame Peggy and Mr. O'Toole play together. Time and again the rhythm hit one in the pit of the stomach—which is where all good acting should hit one, unless it is to hit one in the pupil of the eye.

Round these two a number of excellent performances clustered; but there remained the problem of Sly. Some producers dislike Sly so much that they cut him out altogether; this has actually been done at Stratford. Others have him acted for considerably more than he is worth. But Mr. Barton and Mr. MacGowran tactfully fade him in and out. He is very much there at the beginning, and rather touchingly so at the end. The play is over; the actors have changed and are off to their next one-night stand; and Mr. MacGowran wanders in their wake, ruminating about his wife in Sligo. This was magnificent, though it was not Shakespeare; the perfect end to an irreproachable evening.

I had purposely refrained, in view of this report, from reading what the dramatic critics had been saying about the Stratford season, but I had heard enough to know that *The Merchant of Venice* was a much applauded production. Nevertheless I found it in some respects the least satisfactory of all. Mr. Michael Langham comes to Stratford-upon-Avon from Stratford, Ontario—a fact that was evident from the start. Now the stage at Stratford, Ontario, is a stage built to the Elizabethan pattern in the sense that the audience surround it on three sides. I have no space to argue the advantages of this kind of stage; I will only say that for the playing of Shakespeare they are considerable. But it has one

notable disadvantage—that the actor must be continually moving in order to show his face to a portion of the audience that has just been treated to his back. Moreover, all movement tends to become circular; instead of going straight up to your opposite number, you get to windward of him as if you were stalking a Highland deer. Whether, even on an Elizabethan stage, you need move quite so constantly as Mr. Langham likes to make you move, I am inclined to doubt. But in a proscenium theatre, with a modest apron, like the Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon, the method can easily become a nuisance; and in the recent production of *The Merchant* it was pushed to the limits of mannerism.

Of course some plays demand more movement than others, but *The Merchant* is not a play of this kind. Its movement is steady. Three months must elapse between the signature of the bond and Bassanio's choice of the right casket. The play is a fairy-tale to which Shakespeare has given the solidity of realism as well as the shimmer of romance. Its time and place are important—Venice at the height of her political and mercantile supremacy. Mr. Langham, taking his cue from Guardi rather than Tintoretto, carefully places it in the twilight of her decline. But if we are to have an eighteenth-century *Merchant*, at least let the costumes suggest the richness of a still affluent society. Portia and her ladies had the right glitter; but why was Lorenzo dressed like an under footman prepared to lend a hand with the washing up? Why all those muted browns and greys for a *jeunesse dorée* which obviously knew how to spend money as well as make it? Only the Doge and Magnificoes and court ushers struck the right Venetian note. Morocco and Aragon, it is true, were all that the eye could wish for—but they were foreigners.

Mr. Healey's set did handsomely for Belmont; but I refuse to believe in a Rialto of rags and tatters. And when we came to the Trial scene total disaster ensued. Unless we are made to feel that this is a real court of law, the backbone of the play is shattered. Now you do not save the Trial scene by locomotion; it is in itself so impregnable a piece of theatre that it saves itself if you will only let it alone. Play it seriously, as if you were staging *A Witness for the Prosecution*, and the Attorney General will hardly lift an eyebrow. But allow your plaintiff and counsel to wander where they like; let your Magnificoes turn their backs on the Doge in wistful contemplation of the Grand Canal; permit the broken arch from Belmont still to dominate the proceedings; dress your Portia so that she looks less than her normal size, and then set everybody else revolving round her with the motiveless circulation of a clockwork train so that she is only intermittently visible, even in a theatre built for sight lines—handicap yourself in this way and you have turned reality into surrealism.

Yet, in spite of all this, the evening was full of enjoyable things. Mr. Langham was at his best at Belmont. It was an excellent idea to have the caskets upheld by three Graces dressed to match; Mr. Hardwick, though he was given too negroid a physiognomy—I wish producers would go to Morocco and see for themselves that the rulers and chieftains of that attractive country do not look in the least like Mr. Lumumba—struck the right note of bronze from his splendid voice; and the Aragon scene was the very genius of invention. To have the Prince preceded by his own portrait, which had quite evidently hung in the Academy at Saragossa; to have him escorted by a matriarch of "endless age"; and to present him as the last expiring flicker of a defunct lineage—this was to

exchange the world of Guardi for the world of Goya. Mr. Ian Richardson played him with the impassivity of a death mask, and the effect was wonderfully and legitimately comic. The Bassanio scene was also well managed. Mr. Denholm Elliott, realizing no doubt the strong case that can be made out for Bassanio as a cad, presents a figure of homespun honesty; and this is certainly what Shakespeare intended. His soliloquy even survived the entry of three lacqueys, who entered with a green trellis work and proceeded to wind it around Miss Tutin. I thought this the most impertinent piece of business I had ever seen in a Shakespearean production. Set it beside the brilliant inventiveness of the Aragon scene and you saw the Jekyll and Hyde in Mr. Langham—the thing that he can do and should do, the thing that he can do and should not.

Mr. Landen most amusingly mimed his way through Lancelot Gobbo's feeble jokes, as he had mimed his way through Biondello in the *Shrew*. Mr. O'Toole's Shylock was an arresting and flamboyant study, a little too young in voice and movement, and robbed of concentration and mystery by the St. Vitus' dance through which he, too, had to waltz his way. But here is an actor who knows how to hold the audience and possess the stage, as if by some innate and royal prerogative. There remains Miss Tutin who did everything gracefully, and the most difficult thing of all unforgettably. When she entered for the casket scene with Bassanio, you saw a girl suddenly transformed. The princess of fairy tale had stepped out of her gilded cage into the sunshine of love's reality; and you remembered that look on her face long after criticism had had its say.

Twelfth Night was the first of the productions that I saw this year, and on it I began to form the general impressions that I am recording here. I had seen the production two years ago, when it left me divided between delight and dissatisfaction. Mr. Hall, as it seemed to me, had started off with a good idea and had then gone some way to spoil it. All those cavaliers grouped around Orsino in a panelled hall straight out of Nash's *English Mansions*—this announced a *Twelfth Night* very much to my taste. And it is still a lovely thing to look upon, thanks in great part to Miss de Nobili's designs—a rich symphony in russet. But Mr. Hall, as usual, had plenty of surprises up his sleeve. The first was Miss Tutin. Not that one ever imagined she would be anything but an exquisite Viola, but the seasoned playgoer was hardly prepared for her entrance. Violas usually enter in a voluminous maternity gown from Dior, concealing the immaculate doublet and hose in which they will appear five minutes later, and a graceful hood protecting an unruffled wig. Miss Tutin went to the astonishing length of wearing two wigs, one of which showed distinct signs of having been touched by salt water. And instead of landing in Illyria like a leading lady, she actually clambered ashore as if she were in some doubt as to whether she would ever get there.

Just as Nash's panelling had easily given way to the cloud-capped towers of a transitory Adriatic, so these quickly dissolved into an English garden; and there was Mr. Wymark enjoying an obviously continental breakfast. The scene is always difficult to get under weigh, and Toby needs his cue. He gets it here from the chaplain to Olivia's household processing through the garden, followed by two *dévôtes*, and singing the "Gloria in excelsis". Now it is highly probable that Olivia had ordered a Mass for her brother's soul that morning; but if so, she would certainly have attended it herself. And it is inconceivable that the chaplain would have emerged from it singing the Gloria which is carefully

excluded from the Liturgy for the Dead. If Mr. Hall had got hold of the right end of his bright idea, he would first of all have given Olivia her place in the procession, and then he would have set them all chanting the "De Profundis", antiphonally, as they walked back to the house and to a breakfast even more continental than Sir Toby's.

If Olivia had been to Mass that morning, Sir Toby would just as certainly have not, and Mr. Wymark got things moving briskly in the contrary direction, reminding us that however thickly the late September mists might be gathering, ginger would be hot i' the mouth before the night was over. And it was in the second garden scene that Mr. Hall sprang his next surprises. Mr. Adrian's Feste had drawn his pathos from a canvas by Georges Rouault. Here was the saddest but one of Shakespeare's clowns nursing the secret of an insoluble melancholy. I wondered if Mr. Adrian had found the clue to Feste where I have always found it—in his remark to Viola that he lives "by the church". In other words, Feste is neither of Olivia's world, nor of Orsino's. He drifts from one to the other, inhabiting a world wholly of his own. In the end he is left to sing his melancholy *envoi*, casting a shadow behind him on to a distant and elegant pavane, and perhaps a slight doubt as to whether Miss Tutin's Viola will ever settle down in Illyria. I thought Mr. Adrian might have made his point with a little more speed and a shade lighter emphasis, but his performance was one of exceptional originality and power.

The second surprise was Miss Bennett's Olivia. Here, once again, I felt that Mr. Hall was letting a good idea run away with him. I understood what he was aiming at—to inject melancholy into the comic scenes and comedy into the serious ones. I also realize what he was reacting against—the stately contraltos whom a sudden bereavement has distracted from the organization of the Hunt Ball. Miss Bennett would have been incapable of opening a Flower Show, and that, as they say, was the point of the operation. But Olivia *should* be the competent mistress of a great household; a serious young woman capable of great silliness—or, if you prefer, a silly young woman capable of sudden seriousness. What we were shown was a silly young woman incapable of any seriousness whatever. And this makes nonsense of Viola's impact on her fantasy. It is right that she should appear younger than Viola, but to play her persistently for comic effect is to rob the "roses of the spring" of all their perfume—and I cannot believe that this was Shakespeare's intention. In here casting passion with sentiment to the wings, Mr. Hall came near to cutting out the heart of his play.

That it still continued to beat was largely due to Miss Tutin. She steered her way to Orsino's bosom, a creature not altogether of his element even when her gaze was anchored on him. The recognition of Sebastian was beautifully managed—no stage can ever be wide enough for that miraculous coming together. And, for once, Mr. Ian Holm provided a plausible twin. Mr. Porter, playing a less stiff Malvolio than usual, gave us a genuinely human being; he won our sympathy by not asking for it. Mr. Allen was a splendid Antonio. Rarely can this short but significant part have been adorned with such an appropriate panache. And Mr. Godfrey's Orsino, as so often happens, came into its own in the last act.

The minor tactics of the production were full of good things; Sebastian and Viola nearly meeting in the street, and the chaplain's tactful and embarrassed aversion of the head while Sebastian and Olivia are exchanging their first kiss,

and Malvolio's exit from the drinking scene. So, in the end, they all go their separate ways—Antonio to refit his galleys in Cork or Limerick, and Feste to vanish into an eccentric solitude. It is the measure of Shakespeare's genius that however neatly his plays are rounded off, his characters live on to perplex our questioning. This is increasingly true as he approaches the meridian of his achievement; and it was the merit of Mr. Hall's production that he allowed one or two of the shadows to gather here which all but overwhelmed us in *Troilus and Cressida* and *The Winter's Tale*.

In *Troilus and Cressida* he had a chance to set them gathering, and here he employed Mr. Leslie Hurry to excellent purpose. (I say "he", but Mr. Hall and Mr. Barker had produced this play together.) A bloodshot backcloth, more than a little reminiscent of Graham Sutherland, and a sort of octagonal boxing-ring, strewn with white sand—that was pretty well all we had for décor. The sand was an audacious idea because, generally speaking, the last place to which you want to attract the attention of your public is the floor of your stage. But here the whiteness of the sand answered the redness of the backcloth, as the satire of the play answers its violence. I thought the effect an extremely happy one, and it stood up to a long evening. In only one scene did the décor seem to me deficient—where Pandarus and Cressida watch the Trojan warriors go forth to battle. The stage directions make it clear that they pass, singly, across the stage, and in Shakespeare's theatre Pandarus and Cressida would have watched them from the balcony. But since there were no upper levels in Mr. Hurry's set, they had to imagine them in the audience. I thought this a serious loss, and if I had been producing the play, I should have lain awake at night until I had found a means of making it good. Apart from this, the production never faltered in rhythm, eloquence or absolute certainty of touch.

Troilus and Cressida is arguably the most difficult, as it is certainly the most sophisticated, play that Shakespeare ever wrote. His primary business here is neither comedy nor catharsis, but criticism. "And just because it is so difficult", I can imagine Mr. Hall saying to himself, "I am going to make my production as simple as I possibly can. Out of the two opposing camps I shall make a single, spacious, unlocalised battleground—a kind of no man's land where the two wrongs can fight it out." We have seen the play dressed in Elizabethan, Edwardian and modern costumes, and each of these experiments had its justification and produced its interesting results. But Mr. Hall had the startlingly original idea of letting his actors look like Greeks and Trojans. No less than *Amphitryon* or *Tiger at the Gates*, *Troilus and Cressida* is a modern gloss on ancient myth; and the characters in Shakespeare have as much right as the characters in Giraudoux to their short tunics and long cloaks. In brief, Mr. Hall evidently felt that the play was so modern that its modernity could be left to look after itself—which it very capably did.

Mr. Hall is under no temptation to turn a Shakespearian battle into a Bolshoi ballet; and the battle scenes in *Troilus and Cressida* are all the more important in that they form the conclusion to an exceedingly protracted argument. It is not here a question of sending your Hamlet and Laertes to a competent fencing master and trusting that all will be well at the dress rehearsal. Your whole company has got to fight, and the way they did so in this production was not in the least reminiscent of a ball game. I have never seen anything more sinister than

the slaying of Hector. And the playing of different lights through the smoke of a pardonably anachronistic cannon gave a lurid chiaroscuro to the scene. But if the battle was Mr. Hall's most exacting test, the company had already come through theirs triumphantly. Miss Tutin's Cressida set the crown on her achievement. A natural and not unsympathetic wanton, she fails through weakness rather than perversity. Carefully conceived and beautifully spoken, this Cressida had nothing in common with the Viola and Portia on whose heels she trod, except the technique and integrity of an actress who is growing in stature every day. Mr. Elliott gave us the agony of Troilus, though he could not always command his resonance. Mr. Porter's Ulysses was superb. The wiliness was not overdone; this was a soldier with a brain in his head, and one saw him making short work of Penelope's suitors. I have never heard finer speaking in Shakespeare than his argument with Agamemnon and Achilles. Mr. Clive Swift, on the night I saw the play, was deputising for Mr. O'Toole, but he held Thersites in the hollow of his hand. Mr. Adrian's Pandarus had matured in subtlety with the years. His last, decrepid entrance was the perfect counterpart to the spiritual decomposition of the play. *Troilus and Cressida* is not a play on which one ever feels the last word has been spoken; but Mr. Hall's commentary will not easily be bettered.

In *The Winter's Tale* it was left to Mr. Peter Wood to exploit to their fullest the possibilities of the stage that Mr. Hall has redesigned. The false prosceniums came into their own as the scenery shuttled in and out between them; the cyclorama reflected the vast horizons of the play; and the forestage was not neglected. As an example of production in depth Mr. Wood's staging of *The Winter's Tale* was a classic. He had been wonderfully aided by M. Jacques Noel; both costumes and décor evoked a kind of mythical Renaissance, a world in which anything can happen, and anything did. Of course *The Winter's Tale* is far fetched—far fetched from the ultimate, incandescent reaches of Shakespeare's imagination. It begins in time; time passes; and it ends with time redeemed—just on the hither side of eternity. Mr. Wood had matched this progression with the red of passion, the purple of repentance, and the gold of celebration. For the first three acts we are still in the furnace of the tragic period, and this makes exacting demands on the actor playing Leontes. I thought that Mr. Eric Porter might have characterized his make-up rather more—he looked too much like Ulysses—but his playing, and in particular his phrasing, of the part were magnificent. The ease with which he untied the knots of that later verse; the courage with which he sent Leontes over the edge—like a man taking a deep dive into damnation; his modulation of a progressive mania—all this was admirable. We were sorry for him long before he was sorry for himself, and before other people were sorry for him. With this performance Mr. Porter established himself as a Shakespearian actor of the first rank. He was well partnered by Miss Sellars' golden Hermione; and Dame Peggy Ashcroft's Paulina was his equal in force and phrasing. Mr. Hardwick's Camillo was the faithful Kent in the last of his disguises, and Mr. Allen's distinguished Polixenes survived his sudden attack of protocol.

In Bohemia the insights of Mr. Wood's production failed a little. He made the most inventive use of his stage; Mr. MacGowran was within his rights in playing Autolycus for slyness rather than for swagger; and Mr. Bree and Mr.

Holm between them conveyed all the delights of sudden luck in a football pool. But neither Perdita nor Florizel could master the pure music that their parts require, and the sheep-shearing scene, though it was very prettily staged in the moonlight, somehow went askew. The masks were ugly, and the tap-dancing and drum beats were too reminiscent of darkest Africa for the peasantry of Elizabethan England—which is what these people are. But Mr. Wood managed his last transition cleverly. It was left to three ancient courtiers to tie up the strings of the plot, and they did so most amusingly. For comedy has re-entered into Shakespeare's tragic pattern, and there is more—or less, if you prefer—than pure theophany in the conclusion to *The Winter's Tale*. The Clown and his father have come to court, and Autolycus has gate-crashed with his customary skill. One noted the humor with which Dame Peggy accepted Camillo as her bridegroom, and even Leontes' outstretched fingers to Hermione were on the hither side of eternity. I was reminded of the words with which Georges Bernanos closed a life of passionate polemic; "When I am dead, tell the sweet kingdom of the earth that I loved it more than I ever dared to say." Love is the keynote of the Shakespearian comedies; and the manner in which Mr. Hall had traced its permutations through the 1960 Stratford season brought an illumination, that one will not easily forget, to Shakespeare's Book of Life.

Benenden, Kent

Extant. (Drinks)

— behold that compound.

You rogue, here's lime in this sack too.
There is nothing but Roguery to be found
in villainous man. yet a Coward is
worse than a Cup of Sack with Lime
in it. A villainous Coward! go thy
ways, old Jack, die when thou wilt;
if Manhood, good Manhood, be not
forgot upon the face of the Earth, then
am I a shotten herring. There live but
three good men unhang'd in England,
and one of them is fat, and grows old.
Heaven helps the while, a bad world.
I say: a plague of all Cowards!
I say still.

— what matter you.

A King's Son! if I do not beat thee out
of

x I would I were a Weaver; I could sing
psalms, and all manner of songs — a plague &c

Player's Part—Falstaff in *Henry IV, Part 1*, used by James Quinn at Drury Lane about 1730. A later hand has restored two lines originally omitted. David Garrick once owned the book. Reproduced with the permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library from MS. T. a. 121. See p. 497.

Artistic Success in Canada

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH



CANADA'S Stratford Festival was even more successful this year than it has been in its seven previous seasons—it played longer, sold more seats, and attracted a much larger number of people. In addition, it was an artistic success. The choice of plays was intelligent, the actors (with certain formidable exceptions) competent, and the direction of two of the three plays shrewd and pointed.

All three plays were from Shakespeare's early maturity as a playwright, all have good main parts, all are in simple language with a strong rhetorical beat to help the non-Shakespearian actor along with the speaking of unfamiliar verse. And though *King John* is not a favorite in the theatre, as are *Romeo and Juliet* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is still better known than, say, *Coriolanus* which is one of three announced for Stratford next year.

At this period of his development Shakespeare was experimenting with technique, and trying out characters and ideas which he was to return to later on. The theme of spirit and substance, merely glimpsed in the *Dream*, becomes the main theme of *The Tempest*; the twists and dishonest sanctimoniousness of diplomacy are the theme of *King John*, but Shakespeare is not yet firm enough in his opinions to give them the cynical rein he does later on in *Troilus and Cressida*; and in *Romeo and Juliet* the idea that the world may not always be well lost for love appears as ironic underscoring in the last act whereas in *Antony and Cleopatra* it has become the main theme.

The characters in these relatively early plays have not the multidimensional quality that we find later in *Measure for Measure*, in the great tragedies or in *All's Well*, but they are firmly conceived, none the less, and even the minor roles are fully realizable on the stage as believable people.

The director of these plays does not, therefore, have to struggle to impose a pattern by an ingenious "reading" of the play nor does he have to go out of his way to be different in order to interest a modern audience. He can, if he wishes, put his faith in the story line, trust his actors for the verse, deal with the virtuoso scenes as they arise and, as a result, please both the gallery and the critics.

In two plays this is exactly what happened. *King John*, which had a shaky start, grew in stature as the season progressed until it became a clear interpretation of a play which has been unnecessarily maligned by some critics. Douglas Seale, over from England to direct it, made his king a real king in the first movement, then showed him entrapped by his own scheming in the second, and finally presented us in the third movement with a physical and moral wreck, a burden to himself as well as his country.

The Bastard, a more sophisticated jingoist than some who come later (there

is as much Thersites in him as there is John of Gaunt), was at one and the same time the comfort and conscience of the king. This mercurial character should not be made rigidly consistent and Mr. Seale wisely allowed Christopher Plummer to shimmer through the play in as many different lights as there are differing circumstances.

In only one particular did the director reject what seems to be a strong statement in the play and blur it. Cardinal Pandulph who surely must be an imposing character in the grandest Wolsey manner (wouldn't Wolsey after all be the very pattern of a meddlesome Roman churchman to the Elizabethans?) was dressed in black and looked for all the world like a shrivelled spider capable only of spinning webs of papal intrigue against true-born Englishmen. For devious intrigue he was apt; but for the kind of kingly confrontations he has in the play, he was inadequate and his lack of an imposing presence made John's original defiance and final submission less dramatically effective than they should have been.

For the rest, the play swept from France to England in a riot of primitive yet rich clothes, expertly designed and executed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch; it showed war in its most brutal guise (the killing of women and children before Harfleur was harrowing), and it brought the inevitable clash between politics and principles into sharp relief.

Mr. Seale was helped by his cast. Douglas Rain became an imposing, even pitiable, John; Christopher Plummer might have been Shakespeare's man for the part when he first wrote the Bastard; and Eric Christmas, as Pandulph, was good in the role which Mr. Seale had imposed upon him.

The women were less effective despite the fact that there are more rampaging scenes for women in *King John* than in almost any other play. Ann Casson's grief as Constance was monotonous and Sidney Sturgess' Queen Elinor was far too young in speech, looks and action to be the domineering crone she is in the text.

Arthur triumphed for the right reasons. Heyward Morse did not trade on his good looks (though he has them) nor on his emotional situation (though the eye-burning scene was, and was meant by Shakespeare to be, a real tear-jerker). He made his impact by speaking his lines beautifully and thus letting Shakespeare show him to be an unwilling pawn in a dirty game. In the prison scenes he was also helped by the ghost of a suggestion of homosexuality on Hubert's part (neatly portrayed by Max Helpmann) which suited the play better than the kind of Victorian sentimentality which so often fills this part of the action. With first-rate performances in the leading roles, therefore, and a strong supporting cast concentrating on the story line, *King John* emerged as a wise, complex and disturbing play.

With *Romeo and Juliet* Michael Langham faced a different problem. Most of his audience would know the play well; all would have romantic notions of what the central characters should look like; almost everyone would have memorized at one time or another some of the more lyrical passages. Yet few of the audience would know the theatrical difficulties of the play: the tricky problems of staging the balcony scene, or the long "aside" scene at the ball; the danger of making Romeo a puling milksop instead of a lover only one step removed from that code of courtly love where true affection depended on loss of appetite and

a whey face, and the staging difficulties of the wedding-to-funeral scene (IV. v) and of the last scene where bodies lie thick in the tiny tomb.

But Mr. Langham, aided by the design of the Stratford stage, did nobly. The normal liabilities of the wedding-to-funeral scene became assets. For Juliet collapsed on the balcony, which juts over the apron stage, and it was thus possible to have, as in fact the text has, one set of people still celebrating the forthcoming wedding (on the ground floor) and another set (on the upper level) too numbed by the shock of finding Juliet apparently dead to stop the revelry.

In the final scene, the dark recess under the balcony became the tomb and Romeo merely broke in, then carried his mistress out to a platform mid-stage so that he could add dramatic irony by poisoning himself in the same area as she had done a few scenes before. The moment when Juliet, in full view, was allowed to wake in time to see Romeo die was electric in its impact.

The dance scene was equally well managed. By doing only a slight injury to the text (omitting afterwards the words: "What's he that follows here *that would not dance*"), Langham contrived to have Romeo dance with Juliet and then, with a blinding white light playing on them and the whole of the rest of the cast frozen in mid-gesture, let them play out their scene in utter ignorance of all that surrounded them.

This moment, when the world stopped for them, gave the key to the whole future relationship between the two lovers. It made all the more plausible the long looks of adoration with which Romeo greeted Juliet on the balcony and gave their parting such sweet sorrow as it only rarely can possess in the actual theatre.

Of course, Langham could only do this because he had an excellent Romeo-Juliet combination. Juliet was Julie Harris, a woman skilled in the theatre, of fragile beauty and enormous emotional power. Though her voice was limited in range and her treatment of the verse nothing more than journey-man competent she projected such energy, such warmth and such an adolescent surge of love, that there was not a man in the audience who did not feel what a miracle she was, so young and yet so willing.

Her lack of vocal variety did, however, make her potion speech less effective than it might have been; her scene with her father was all on the father's side (Jack Creley was a most agile father-tyrant), and the long scene with the Nurse after Tybalt's death became tedious—this partly because Kate Reid had not the depth for the Nurse.

Bruno Gerussi, a Vancouver actor who has had a succession of smaller parts with the festival almost since it opened, was quite unexpectedly good. His performance was virile, yet tender; his speech was so perfectly phrased that even when he appeared to be saying his words by rote rather than by instinct it was moving. And when he traded word for word with Mercutio in Act II, scene iv, Gerussi yielded nothing to Christopher Plummer in the exchange. He is, in fact, a Stratford find who will grow into a Shakespearian actor of real stature.

Plummer brought his usual polish, zest and marvellously clear speech to Mercutio and Douglas Rain, having doffed his kingly honors of the night before, made a bustling, vicious character of Tybalt.

The only major performance which seemed to be somewhat below standard was that of Tony Van Bridge as Friar Laurence. But he was thwarted to some

degree by the director, for he was made to speed up his lines and be brisk and jolly to the point of losing those particularly friarly qualities of conviction and consolation. And the fact that he was not brought back to explain all the loose ends at the play's close shows that this was the director's idea, because this Friar Laurence seemed more likely to take one look at the mess and leave rather than stay, as he does in the text. Such a portrayal helped the production but it did some violence to the spirit of the part, and to the fabric of the play.

All in all though, this was a most satisfying *Romeo and Juliet*, handsomely dressed, cleverly directed and played with an energetic grace that seemed thoroughly in tune with Renaissance Italy as we know it.

By the side of these two productions, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* seemed trivial, almost obviously designed for the tourist trade. The fairies rushed about and hissed, the lovers pursued each other noisily, the mechanicals' play went on and on. A strange fellow interrupted the rehearsal from under the stage, and Mustardseed (presumably to show his hot-headed quality) behaved like a juvenile fairy delinquent. Puck swung amongst the pillars like a Barbary ape and writhed about the stage like a free-form ballet dancer.

This is not to say that there was not a great deal of fun in the production. Bottom was excellent and his ass-head the most pathetically melancholy piece of headgear one could ever wish to see. Tony Van Bridge made him lovable as well as infuriating, and his by-play was well-controlled. The other homespuns were equally well-drawn: Robin Gammell as Flute looking more the picture of a boy just out of school and his voice breaking than even Norman Rockwell might imagine; Chris Wiggins with a lion skin which would not frighten a mouse; William Needles (appropriately enough) the mildest man who ever put wax to tailor's thread. The group was held together by Mervyn Blake, an inspired Quince who conducted his play from the book in a way which had the court in genuine stitches as well as the audience.

But *The Dream* is not just Bottom and his bully boys. It is also Theseus, a duke who sees clearly his position as arbiter of taste and as ruler of men; it is Egeus, a parent who is driven distracted by the contrariness of a child who he does not realize has suddenly become a woman; and a group of young lovers who cannot see why there is all the public fuss made over what is surely a private matter. Above all, it is Oberon and Titania, demi-gods from a deistic pantheon, whose squabble cannot be limited just to themselves—order and degree show through even the fairy revels.

In the busy performance mounted by Campbell, these figures were either smudged or lost. Oberon was a tone-deaf gabbler not recognizable as the Romeo of another play, yet it was Gerussi in both; Titania was utterly unsuited to the talents of Deborah Cass, who spoke her lines as though she were a Greek fury instead of an English fairy; and Puck, played by Jake Dingle, was a disaster. He could writhe, somersault, hang from the balcony and do everything except speak a plain speech plainly or a lyrical one musically.

The lovers, too, were in such a hurry to get through their pieces that they would always prefer a laugh to a line and if they had ever known what a blank verse line was Campbell had drummed the knowledge out of them.

The result was more a pantomime than a play, and as a pantomime it was

good. But it seemed prodigal of some of the world's best poetry to give it such a treatment.

This year, however, it was only *A Midsummer Night's Dream* which suffered badly from lack of poetry. In the other two plays, notably in *Romeo and Juliet*, it was not only noticed by the directors, but even given some close attention. This augurs well. For when Stratford, Ontario, can handle poetry as well as it handles the other details of its productions (and that is *very* well) it will become a festival no Shakespearian, be he actor, theatre-lover, or scholar, can afford to miss.

Toronto

Return with Rosalind Act 2. 28.

— at not my Masters Debter

— are my Spirits

I care not for my Spirits, if my Legs were not weary.

— can go no farther.

For my Part, I had rather Bear with you than Bear you; yet I should bear as long as I did Bear you; for I think you have no money in your Purse

— Forest of Arden

My now I am in Arden, the more fool I when I was at Home, I was in a better Place But Travellers must be content.

— found my own

And I remember when I wasen Love I broke my Sword against a Stone, and did him take that for foming a nights

to Sans Smiles; and I remember the flying of her Ballet, and the fow Dugs that her pretty chapt Hands had milked, and I

remember, wearing of a bearded moked of from whom I took two Bats, Eying her an apparition of her. We that are true, loving our own to strange with weeping eyes, was chose for my sake, I assure; but all is mortal in Nature,

so is all Nature in Love Mortal, in folly

— thou art ware off

May I shall ne'er be ware of my sin but, till I break my Thins Against it

— Almost to Death

Holla; you frown.

— who fall's

Your Betters, Sir. — Exit w. th Rosalind

Return with Jovin. Act 2. 28


— at Once prepare thy

— Our Touchstone.

Truly Shee good in respect to itself, it is the Good Life; but in respect, that it is

Shakespeare in the Rockies: III

ROBERT L. PERKIN

HEN the adventurous Irish baronet, Sir George Gore, visited the Rocky Mountains in 1855 on a locally famous and lavish hunting expedition (portable library, fifty retainers, wine cellar), he employed the old mountain man and trapper, Jim Bridger, as guide and campfire storyteller. At the end of the day's hunt, the strangely matched but mutually respectful pair, cultured nobleman and illiterate fur trader, would swap stories around their fire in some craggy glen far into the untracked wilderness. Sometimes Sir George would read to Bridger from the works of the peer's favorite author, William Shakespeare. Bridger listened attentively, asking that scenes be read and reread until he felt he understood them. He "rayther calculated that thar Dutchman, Mr. Full-stuff, was a leetle bit too fond of lager beer", and at first he reckoned Shakespeare was "a leetle too highfalutin'" for a man who had never been inside a school. Within a few years, however, Bridger was to canvas the emigrant wagon trains on the Overland Trail until he found a pioneer with a spare one-volume edition of the Plays. He traded a yoke of oxen, valued then at about \$125, for the book and hired a young man at \$40 a month as his reader. Subsequently, to the end of his days, Bridger was a quoter of Shakespeare. One historian records that a Bridger quotation often was "seasoned . . . with a broad oath, so ingeniously inserted as to make it appear to the listener that Shakespeare himself had used the same language."

Jim Bridger's Mr. Full-stuff returned to the Rockies this summer, still overly fond of sack, still "unimitated, unimitable", as one of the high points of the third Colorado Shakespeare Festival in the openair Rippon Theater on the University of Colorado campus in Boulder. The seasoning of the oaths once again was properly Elizabethan, with no local emendations, but the same Western stars looked down, and one could imagine Old Gabe, a first-nighter in fringed buckskins, roaring his approval in language shocking to modern Coloradans and tourists on the sandstone benches around him.

Despite some rainy and threatening weather which may have held audiences down, the third festival played to 10,500 persons, close to the 10,600 of last year and well above the first season's 7000. The run was from 30 July through 13 August with *Henry IV, Part One*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Twelfth Night* as the plays in the now-traditional formula of history, tragedy and comedy. Rain interrupted the opening performance of *Henry*, and forced the same play indoors to the University Theater on a later night. There were sprinkles on other evenings, but *Antony* drew out two over-capacity houses and on its final night set a new single-performance record of 1144 patrons. The festival has passed its probationary first three years with high marks, and the prospects are bright. As

this is written, plans for the 1961 season have not yet taken shape. Dates, number of performances, plays, and directors are to be decided upon during the winter months, but Executive Director J. H. Crouch reports the fourth festival probably again will be scheduled early in August. There are rumors of *King Lear* and possibly *Henry V*, although if the Henriad is to be advanced farther (*Richard II* was offered last year) it would seem a shame to pass over *Henry IV, Part Two*, granting with all charity an understandable reluctance to face up to the tough and unpopular Falstaff problem.

For that old tallow-pot rogue, who won the admiration of Jim Bridger and, grudgingly, even of the moralistic Sam: Johnson, continues to capture hearts as one of the most popular figures Shakespeare created. He did it again in Boulder this summer. Hal's "sweet beef" was as flavorful as ever, and if we must see him sadly banished, let's get it over with next summer and on with the play.

In summary of the third Colorado festival, the Falstaff stands out, as he always would, even with some reservations in the particular instance, and there were other highpoints, too. Individually, a Cleopatra who was almost everything the most extravagant male instinct could desire; a personable Prince Hal with great command and presence; a remarkably mature young actor who was, in turn, equally in character as King Henry, Orsino and, especially, Enobarbus; and a fiery, clipped-voice Hotspur, the soul of incandescent impatience, who must have made playgoers in the last tier fidget in their seats.

Secondly, I would like to pay a measure of humble tribute to the rather splendid things this sort of repertory theatre is accomplishing. Someday, the American theatre will be very grateful for the versatility these Shakespeare festivals are training. I assume that at least a few of these young stars will be the professionals of tomorrow, and well they should be. This strength of repertory was particularly striking in the Colorado Festival this year, and I think especially of three male principals. Fredric DeSantis (Hal, Caesar, Sebastian) was outstanding. DeSantis is a Colorado Festival veteran, and looking back I note I described his 1959 Malcolm as "promising". My critic's luck was phenomenal. Promise never was more generously brought to flower. DeSantis has charm, good looks, a fine voice, and a very special sort of self-effacing arrogance, if I may cast a riddle. A few more birthdays, his generosity emboldens me to predict, and he will come to a greater differentiation of character, a willingness to submerge DeSantis more deeply into the part he is playing. Nor was he the only player who is acquiring repertory skills. Robert Palmer (King Henry, Enobarbus, Orsino) displayed somewhat less stage presence, but a considerably more mature empathy for his parts. One is not sure exactly who Palmer is, but one knows what he feels of Henry and Enobarbus, an entirely different person. In the latter role, Palmer came close to stealing the festival. Cleopatra was beguiling utterly, Antony noble, Malvolio comic, and Octavius proud, but it was Enobarbus the groundlings loved and wept for. Edwin Johnson, a three-year festival regular, has a sharply enunciated, almost pedantic, diction which was admirably suited to the brittle, passionate demands of Hotspur's character. But even that exhausting role was not enough for Johnson, a busy actor. He also played, with almost equal spirit, Sir Toby and both Menas and Dolabella in *Antony*.

Then, the matter of staging. As the Colorado Festival continues to build

strength, one grows more and more dedicated to the spacious, uncluttered, fluid outdoor stage. This year's *Antony*, in particular, demonstrated the great values that lie in a simple, Doric approach. Scene followed scene rapidly at a keen and ordered pace, with no labored nonsense about where the action was occurring. The audience had no difficulty in following the story. Attention was concentrated where it belongs: on the poetry and the actors. This sort of thing is striking deep blows (mortal ones, I hope) at 19th-Century realistic staging—and I note that other commentators are becoming disenchanted with the elaborate contrivings, almost in the realm of TV-style "productions", in Connecticut and Ontario. The physical problem of hoisting a reasonably well-fleshed dying Antony up into the Monument has been a continuing worry for literal-minded directors carrying the burden of fixed ideas about traditional staging or confined by a more or less traditional stage. In Colorado, the issue was resolved directly and beautifully: a draped table far downstage on the lip of the Rippon Theater's main level. Quite low enough to permit three attendants to lift Antony onto it with no strainings by Iras and Charmian. How much more simple and graceful than any of the many ingenious attempts to cope with an upper stage! And an audience always knows, and is embarrassed by, any situation in which it feels the players off balance and ungainly. A director, it seems to me, embarrasses an audience only at his most immediate peril.

The Colorado Festival does with an absolute minimum of props. Costuming, of course—and this year's costumer, new to the festival, Caley Summers of the University of Texas, assistant costumer in 1959 at Ashland, fitted out the three plays with eye-catching color and drama—but all cluttering is resolutely forsworn. When major props are needed, a banquet table, a couch, a throne, the players simply bring it on with them and then take it away when it has served its purpose. The audience couldn't care less. Such inconspicuous ease requires some doing, I'm sure, but the playgoer's readiness to accept a clean, graceful convention often is underestimated by those who trouble themselves about the need for "disclosure" of realistic settings behind a curtained inner stage. The Boulder *Henry*, moreover, went a long way toward converting into a purely academic issue the old chestnut of voices "within". In the slapstick Francis scene, cruel but enduringly amusing, Poins (Cary Bynum) merely vaulted easily over the low sandstone wall into the "pit", sprawled out comfortably and, raising himself a little on his elbows to be seen and heard, shot out his baiting calls. A Shakespeare audience is quite willing to pretend that an actor cannot be seen—even when he's in their laps.

Some doubts are arising about this particular outdoor stage, however, and I think they are shared by my respected professor, Dr. George F. Reynolds, who helped design it—not, as it sometimes is erroneously put down, as a Shakespearean stage but only as a useful and flexible open-air theatre. The Rippon Theater is undeniably handsome, but its vastness is both blessing and curse. The space is excellent for the comings and goings of warriors and banners on the march, the wide central flight of steps admirable for Julius Caesar's assassination or the suicides of Antony and Eros, the natural shrubbery a fine hiding-place for Toby and Aguecheek. But more intimate scenes tend to be swallowed up unless they are brought well down front. The difficulty was met and measured this season: Cleopatra's death, her powerful scene with the Messenger, the tip-

pling banquet, Malvolio's crossed garters, the father-and-son crisis between Henry and Prince Hal—all were played as far forward as possible. One other in-built difficulty of the stage was more disrupting. At left and right, the main playing area is flanked by high quarter-circles which form, in effect, wings. The convex surfaces of these stone walls are tempting to stagecraft but acoustically deceptive. One would imagine the curved walls would carry an actor's voice conveniently to the whole "house", but it does not work out that way. Much of the cellar bit between Sir Toby and Sir Andrew was lost to at least half the audience, and far too much of the poignant soliloquy in which Enobarbus laments his desertion of Antony.

So much in the way of general observations. Briefly, now, some notes on the individual productions. The 1960 season began with *1 Henry IV*, directed by Francis Hodge, open stage specialist from the University of Texas. Mr. Hodge worked with a most competent cast. Paul Nichols as Falstaff won his audience completely. He was togged out as a "ton of man" with ample padding under a costume of mellow brown, and the makeup department gave him a pair of wonderfully quizzical, up-rising white eyebrows which Nichols used to full effect. The comedy was carefully and successfully evoked at every turn, although I for one wished Falstaff had not rushed so rapidly through his self-catechism on honor. The lines seem to want some relishing. The father-son scene between King Henry (Palmer) and Hal (DeSantis) was a little masterpiece of staging, pace, and eloquent acting. It was played on a wide flight of temporary steps at the front of the stage, and the actors shifted levels in relation to one another as the lines gave each an ascendance. The volatile Hotspur (Johnson) communicated precisely the electric exchange between stage and audience which is called for. Welsh was employed interestingly in dialogue and song, and the dueling was in Gothic sword-and-dagger style. The grating of steel on steel put teeth on edge.

Executive Director Crouch staged the *Antony and Cleopatra*. "*Felicitèr audax!*" indeed. Here was sweep, vigor, boldness, and a Cleopatra (Molly Riley) who became the infinite woman incarnate. Miss Riley was easily the star of this year's festival. Her sensitive Cleopatra glowed, rippled with wanton sex, took on sharp edges of cruelty and calculation, melted in warm surrenders, quavered or grew firm with courage, romped, jested and found unerringly the common coin of the eternal sisterhood of women. It was a dazzling outpouring of an actress' versatility. Around this handsome performance, Dr. Crouch fashioned a brilliant and swift play which flowed imperceptibly from scene to scene. He opened it with a momentary frozen-stance tableau of the entire cast, a masterful touch of color and pageantry, and then the actors moved smoothly and gracefully into a play which gained force with every scene straight through to Caesar's final tribute:

. . . . she looks like sleep,
As she would catch another Antony
In her strong toil of grace.

Caesar (DeSantis), proud, young, conniving, gave person to the cold power of Rome. Enobarbus (Palmer), with a ready wit and a diamond at one ear, spoke the practical, robust good sense of the soldier. Miss Riley scored special victories

in her passionate "but yet" scene with the Messenger, the curious-jealous cataloging of Octavia's shortcomings, and at her death couch. My antic disposition would have relished a trifle broader reading of the bawdy lines she dropped so lightly, but, even so, Miss Riley was truly a "lass unparallel'd" who stirred a great many hardening arteries. I have only one real reservation about this production, and perhaps it, too, is a purely personal one. It concerns George Wall, whose Hamlet, Petruchio, and Oberon were the cynosures of the first two festivals. Wall's Antony, I thought, was too grand in manner, with too much head flinging, cape swirling, bentknee posturing and a swooping, gliding stride when Antony should walk firmly as a third pillar of the world. But one can forgive Wall many mannerisms when he speaks. The full beauty of the poetry always is there, perfect in clarity and intonation, and Wall never speaks a line routinely. One is never in doubt but that he knows what the words mean and how they fit in with all that has gone before and is to come later.

Gerald Kahan of the University of Georgia, who directed *The Taming of the Shrew* in the first Colorado festival, gave his *Twelfth Night* a novel slow pace, timing it to the mincing gait of a maid posing as a man and to the measured tread of a superbly realized Malvolio (Roger Mitchell) who, far from the fawning ass one usually sees, was all icy, somber dignity. This Malvolio was played *à la mode* Puritan, even to the subdued grey and black costuming. Mitchell is gifted with a nice sense of timing for deadpan comedy, and when he read the line in which Malvolio is instructed to smile, you could hear the ice crack in his lips. The audience rang with appreciative laughter. Palmer's Orsino was touched gently with some of the bitter-sweet comedy of Cyrano, a tip to his interpretation of the role, and he gave spice to the otherwise rather implausible and sappy romance. The Viola (Denelda Nelson) was handled a little too prettily for my taste. If Octavius "words" Cleopatra, Miss Nelson round-eyed her audience. The part seems to call for a tomboy rather than a bisque doll. Sir Toby (Johnson), Sir Andrew (James Brannock) and Maria (Rosemary Hunt) romped merrily in agreeable contrast to Malvolio's creaking, and the Feste (Dennis Hunt) was a find. Hunt sang the play's delightful little ballads—particularly the epilogue song—in a fine, true, unpretentious tenor voice, and his clear, smooth speaking of the fool's jests gave the word-play every possible chance to come through. All in all, it was a pleasant evening, and the Colorado company got to the heart of the matter without resorting to anachronistic costuming or other confections.

Denver

— who?

what the devil have I said? you would have farther information, would you?

— your sake.

Get you up into your chamber, cockatrice, and there immure your self.. be confid, I say, during our Royal pleasure, but first, down on your marrow bones, upon your allegiance, and make an Acknowledgment of your offences, for I will have ample satisfaction.

— gloriously father.

Ay, there's your remedy... when you receive Contagious punishment, you run with open mouth to your Confessor, that parcel of holy guts and Garbage; he must chuckle you and moan you; but Ill-rid my hands of his ghostly Authority one day, and make him know he's of our sort — lo! — no sooner, Conjuror, but the devils in's circle.

— Don Gomez?

why a son of a church. I hope. There's no harm in that, father.

— for penance.

There's no harm in that, she shall fast too—fasting saves money. [aside]

— unseemly posture.

O horrible, 'to find a woman upon her knees, he says is an unseemly posture. There's a priest for you, + go up to him when call'd. in private.

Was ever man thus priest ridden? would she steeples of his church were in his belly, I am sure there's room for it.

[a part for 20 lines]

— gravity upon me.

This whispering bodes me no good for certain, but he has me so plaguily under a lash that I dare not interrupt him. it extenuates the sin.

[for 13]

I can hold no longer... now Gentlemen, you are confessing your Evamities; I know it by that hypocritical, downcast look. Eycyn her to lie bare upon a bed of nettles. Father, you can do no less in Conscience

[for 15]

or I shall dye.

The Season in New York

ALICE GRIFFIN



HE New York season of Shakespeare productions was marked by four professional offerings of high quality. All of these achieved great popularity. The productions were *Henry IV, Parts 1* and *2*, at the Phoenix Theatre during the spring, followed by the New York Shakespeare Festival's summer presentation out of doors of *Henry V* and *The Taming of the Shrew*.

The outstanding virtue of all four productions was their interpretation of the plays as highly dramatic stage pieces, with most of the scenes well-paced and moving fluidly on open stages. The audience's interest was generally held throughout. The three history plays also were especially fortunate in the interpretation of their comic scenes, which accounted for much of their popularity. The fault that the four productions shared was the actors' inability, for the most part, to capture the poetry of the lines; the sense was clear, but the beauty of the lyric passages was largely lost.

Henry IV, Part 1, opened on March 1 at the Phoenix Theatre, with Fritz Weaver in the title role, Eric Berry as Falstaff, Donald Madden as Hotspur, and Edwin Sherin as Prince Hal. Stuart Vaughan directed, and scenery and costumes were by Will Steven Armstrong. On an open, single set, with a raked, extended platform in the foreground and steps leading to a balcony in the rear, the over-all direction was forceful, but the director as well as the actors seemed to be most interested in the comic scenes. All of the action in the tavern was memorable, while that at the court seemed so slow that one could not blame Hal for preferring to be elsewhere.

Unfortunately, Edwin Sherin interpreted the Prince as a priggish young man who never seemed really to be enjoying his low companions. The first soliloquy was rendered unnecessary, for he seemed to play all the tavern scenes with a faint air of disapproval of his surroundings and his fat friend. If so, he was the only one in the theatre who was not captivated by Eric Berry's Falstaff, a witty and buoyant fat knight, who was excellent both in action and in his delivery of the speeches. The remoteness of Prince Hal's character in this production threw both Falstaff and Hotspur into a more favorable light. Donald Madden was Hotspur, and his delivery was most creditable, although he found it necessary to accompany most of his words with explanatory actions. Fritz Weaver made a serious and sonorous King Henry, and the scene between father and son dragged interminably.

Part 2 opened April 18 with largely the same cast. In general, all of the actors profited by their experience in *Part 1*, and their ensemble acting distinguished the second part. However, the cold and unsympathetic interpretation of Prince Hal still remained, and one never could believe by the end of the play that

Edwin Sherin's Prince would be the heroic Henry V Shakespeare depicts in the play of that name.

Jerry Jedd was an appealing if somewhat lightweight Mistress Quickly, and Patricia Falkenhain struck just the right note as a sluttish Doll Tearsheet. As Falstaff, Eric Berry was even better than he had been in *Part 1*, and in the tavern scenes brought out the growing coarseness of the character. However, this was still a sympathetic Falstaff, so that the rejection at the end made Hal out to be the villain of the sequence, Falstaff the hero.

The New York Shakespeare Festival opened its summer season June 29 with *Henry V*, directed by Joseph Papp, the festival producer, designed by Eldon Elder, with music by David Amram. On Mr. Elder's unit setting of steps and levels, the production was vigorous and the movement fluid. Scenes of spectacle, with colored banners and hangings were especially effective. Like the Phoenix production of the two plays which precede *Henry V* in historical time, there was difficulty with the character of the young King. James Ray was youthful and appealing, but he did not bring to the role either the sensitivity or the poetry which other actors have discovered there and so ably interpreted.

Greatly applauded by the audience, the comedy scenes were broad and filled with by-play. Albert Quinton was Pistol and John Call Fluellen, and the leek-eating scene was amusingly done. Kathleen Widdoes made an appealing French princess, and Williams, the soldier who challenges the King who is incognito at the time, was played by a negro, James Earl Jones.

The Festival's second production opened on July 25, an offering of *Measure for Measure*, directed by Alan Schneider, with Mariette Hartley as Isabella, Philip Bosco as Angelo, and Mark Lenard as the Duke. This reporter was unable to attend the production, which was generally well received by the drama critics. Frances Herridge of the *New York Post* called it a "handsome and exciting production", and of the interpretations of Isabella and Angelo by Miss Hartley and Mr. Bosco, Judith Crist in the *New York Herald Tribune* commented that they created "two poignantly real people. Mr. Bosco's Angelo is more than a man corrupted by power . . . he is a man who suffers torment in self-knowledge and in his refusal to concede his weakness."

The Festival's third production was a rousing offering of *The Taming of the Shrew*, directed by Gerald Freedman, and with J. D. Cannon as Petruchio and Jane White as Katherine, using the same basic open stage designed by Eldon Elder. The production was fast-moving, as is essential for comedy, and the humor, if broadly interpreted, was inventive as well. Mr. Cannon was a virile, dashing Petruchio, and Miss White combined fury with femininity as the shrewish Kate. Almost all of the subsidiary comic roles were well done—Frederic Warriner as the ancient but amorous suitor Gremio, John Heffernan as the tailor, who chokes on his own pins, and John Call as a put-upon Grumio.

Shakespeare did not fare as well in another professional production during the season, *The Tempest*, which opened December 27 at the East 74th Street Theatre. Rolf Forsberg directed, Edward Asner was Prospero, Lee Henry Caliban, and Monica May Miranda. The production was spiritless and heavy-handed.

School productions of Shakespeare in New York included *Pericles* by Barnard College, from April 5 to 9, and *As You Like It*, an arena production by the Queen's Revels of Columbia University, opening March 23.

Hunter College

Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival, 1960

CLAIRE McGLINCHEE



HE picture that met the eye of the assembling audience at this year's Stratford Festival was a gratifying change from the slat blinds that had been used for a number of seasons. Rouben Ter-Arutunian had provided what looked like a mammoth sea-shell as an "off-white" background. It was appropriate for both *Twelfth Night* and *The Tempest*, though it had the effect of limiting the size of the stage, which was better suited to the latter. Here appropriateness ended for *Twelfth Night*, as Jack Landau had, for reasons of his own, chosen to take the play out of Shakespeare's romantic, non-existent Illyria and transport it to an English seaside resort in the time of Oscar Wilde.

Instead of hearing immediately Duke Orsino's "If music be the food of love, play on", we had first to watch a parade of the cast. Except that he was arm in arm with Maria, no one would have recognized Sir Toby, immaculately groomed in clothes that might be worn by a sporty enthusiast at the race-track. This over, Donald Davis spoke Orsino's lines extremely well; in fact, his interpretation of this character was excellent throughout the play.

Katharine Hepburn's Viola left much to be desired. In an occasional speech, one had the impression that Miss Hepburn was earnestly trying to do justice to the blank verse; there were even poetical moments, but why, after a few lines, must she revert to the Hepburn monotony of voice and matter-of-fact delivery? A case in point was the end of the disguise soliloquy—all good but the rhyme-tag conclusion: "O, time, thou must unravel this, not I / It is too hard a knot for me to untie." After a much too long pause before it, this couplet was said as unpoetically as if Viola were to have said, "Please pass me the pepper." That Miss Hepburn looked "cute" in the white sailor suit was unimportant. Why did she tremble and shake at such frequent intervals, contort her face, and deliver her lines as if she would burst into tears? Viola was a girl of infinite spirit and romantic charm.

To date, Richard Waring has an enviable record of first-rate performances. His Malvolio could have capped them all had he not over-done the audible sighs of self-love and exaggerated his diction to the point of absurdity. It was not his fault that he had to play the scene of incarceration enclosed in one of the two beach cabanas that helped to ruin the scene. Nor was it his fault that through atrociously bad direction, the clowning of the "comedy-group" distracted the attention of the audience from him during the latter scene.

Of the comedy group, O. Z. Whitehead's Sir Andrew was outstanding. Loring Smith as Sir Toby did not trust sufficiently the innate cleverness of Shake-

speare's lines. Sada Thompson as Maria was by far the best of the women in the play. Miss Thompson would, as the English say, "take a lot of beating" in an ingenue role. The Sea Captains—Will Geer as Viola's friend, and Clifton James as Antonio, Sebastian's deliverer—ingratiated themselves with the audience. Clayton Corzatte, a newcomer to this Festival, gave to Sebastian a distinction that is rare. Why is it necessary to caricature the priest? There was nothing offensive in Patrick Hines's mincing walk and inane smile, but there is nothing in the play to indicate that Shakespeare wished every character clowned.

As the Countess Olivia, Margaret Phillips was beautiful enough to win the affections of a dozen dukes. Her self-consciousness and exaggerated manner of speaking would scarcely have retained the love of one.

Tradition having given us a lineage of youthful, prancing, gay fools, it was difficult to adjust to Morris Carnovsky's interpretation of Feste as a kind of lamenting Deor. Having so conceived it, he played the part with the excellent combination of technique and mood for which he is noted.

Herman Chessid's music was disappointing, especially to those who remembered the delightful score he provided for *All's Well that Ends Well* last season. In the "Come Away Death" and "When that I was and a Little Tiny Boy", one longed for the traditional tunes. The boy soprano David Gress, well known for his distinguished work with the Columbus Choir and as Amahl in Menotti's opera, received spontaneous applause for his rendition of "O Mistress Mine".

The performance of *The Tempest* was in most ways so satisfying—often impressive—that the omission of the first scene "On a ship at Sea" was doubly regrettable. Director William Ball chose rather to have the play open with Prospero entering amid thunder and lightning, making wide sweeps with his magic wand. This provided atmosphere, but those who know the play missed the superb use of sea language in the speech of the ship-master and the Boatswain. Here was an opportunity to use the apron of the stage and the steps leading below-stage to the best possible effect. Robert Fletcher's designs, Tharon Musser's lighting, Diane Forhan's dance arrangements were all good. Special praise is due Lee Hoiby for charming and appropriate music.

Morris Carnovsky's Prospero was a triumph. Mr. Carnovsky has proved in many roles at this festival his skill, taste, and versatility as an actor. His interpretation of Prospero equalled in excellence his outstanding Shylock of three seasons ago.

It would be difficult to imagine a lovelier Miranda than that of Joyce Ebert. She never lost the sweet ingenuousness and awe of the young girl whose knowledge of people had perforce been restricted. These qualities so portrayed made the scenes with Ferdinand sheer joy. And John Ragin's Ferdinand, though he had known people and among them lovely women, brought out perfectly the amazement and deep love that were aroused in him when he met Miranda and thought she must be "... the goddess On whom these airs attend!"

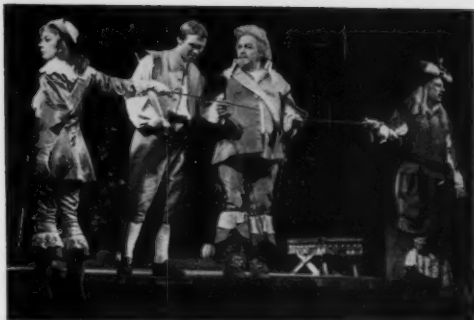
The Ariel was Clayton Corzatte, who had given distinction to the minor role of Sebastian in *Twelfth Night*. Here he had a major role, and he played it delightfully. This Ariel ever "drank the air before him" in carrying out Prospero's commands.

Perhaps the most difficult role in the play is that of Caliban. Earle Hyman, indeed monstrous and repellent in the costume designed for him, sustained well



The Two Gentlemen of Verona at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Donald Layne Smith as Panthino; Patrick Wymark as Launce. Directed by Peter Hall. Photo by David Sim.

Twelfth Night at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Dorothy Tutin as Viola, Dinsdale Landen as Fabian, Patrick Wymark as Sir Toby Belch, Ian Richardson as Sir Andrew Aguecheek. Directed by Peter Hall. Photo by Dominic.



The Taming of The Shrew at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Patrick Wymark as Grumio, James Bree as Tranio, Peter O'Toole as Petruchio, Peter Jeffrey as Lucentio, Elizabeth Sellars as Bianca, Philip Voss as a Priest, Peggy Ashcroft as Katharina, Tony Church as Hortensio, Dinsdale Landen as Biondello, Paul Hardwick as Baptista, Ian Holm as Gremio. Directed by John Barton. Photo by Angus McBean.



The Tempest, Stratford Connecticut, by the American Shakespeare Festival. Directed by William Ball. John Ragin as Ferdinand, Morris Carnovsky as Prospero, Clayton Corzatte as Ariel, Joyce Ebert as Miranda.



Twelfth Night at the American Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Jack Landau. Margaret Phillips as Olivia, Katharine Hepburn as Viola, Sada Thompson as Maria.

The Tempest at the American Shakespeare Festival. Clayton Corzatte as Ariel, Earle Hyman as Caliban, Clifton James as Stefano, William Hicky as Trinculo.





Romeo and Juliet at the Canadian Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Ontario. Directed by Michael Langham. Julie Harris as Juliet, Bruno Gerussi as Romeo. Photo by Peter Smith.

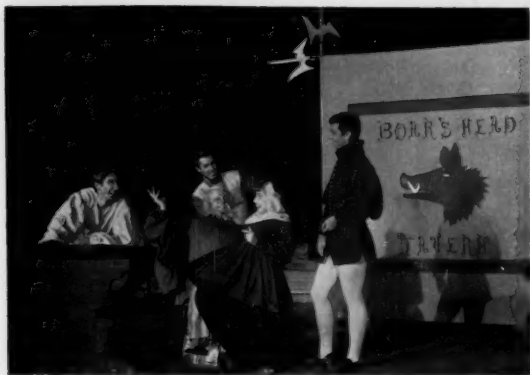


King John at the Canadian Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Douglas Seale. Douglas Rain as King John, Christopher Plummer as Philip the Bastard. Photo by Peter Smith.



A Midsummer Night's Dream, the concluding scene, at the Canadian Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Douglas Campbell. Photo by Peter Smith.

Antony and Cleopatra at the Colorado Shakespeare Festival, Boulder, Colorado. J. H. Crouch, Director. Molly Riley as Cleopatra, George Wall as Antony. Photo by Stowall's Photo Center.



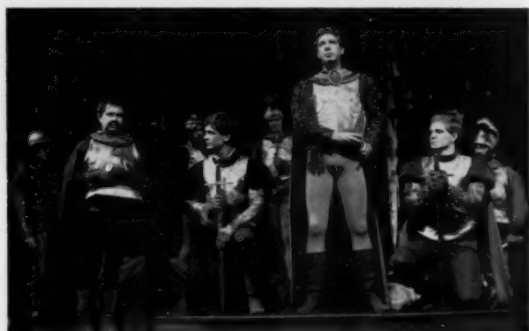
1 Henry IV at the Colorado Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Francis Hodge. Robert West as Bardolph, Cary Bynum as Poins, Paul Nichols as Falstaff, Rosemary Hunt as Mistress Quickly, Frederic De Santis as Prince Hal.



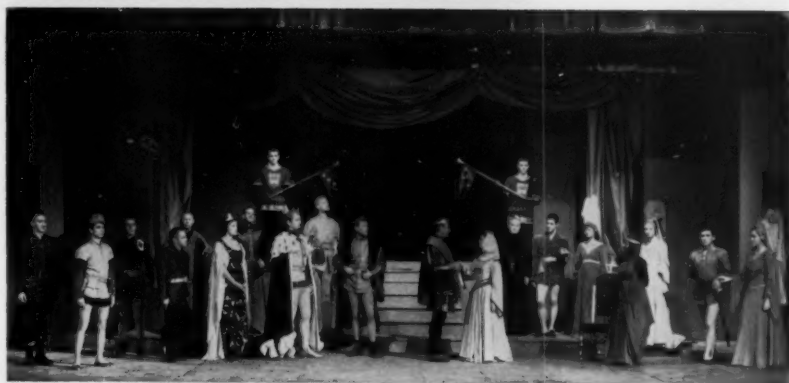
Twelfth Night at the Colorado Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Gerald Kahan. Edwin Johnson as Sir Toby, Robert West as Fabian, James Brannock as Sir Andrew, Roger Mitchell as Malvolio.



The Tempest, presented by the University of Arizona at the Phoenix Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Peter Marroney. Robert Hurwitt as Prospero, Dennis Walker as Ariel. Photo by Bob Davy.



King Henry V at the New York Shakespeare Festival. Produced by Joseph Papp. James Ray as Henry V; at left, John Call as Fluellen. Photo by George E. Joseph.



Henry V, presented by the Phoenix Little Theatre Group in the Phoenix Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Robert Aden. Robert Aden as Henry V, Kathleen Howell as Princess Katherine. Photo by Bob Davy.



The Merry Wives of Windsor, produced by The Little Theatre of Alexandria, Virginia, in the Garden of Gadsby's Tavern. Directed by Orville French. Hibbard James as Sir John Falstaff, Ellie Chamberlain as Mistress Ford, Marsha Greenspan as Anne Page, Mary Frances Sheedy as Mistress Page. Photo by Anna Leesa.



The Taming of the Shrew, University of California at Berkeley. Directed by Clayton Garrison. Graham Campbell as Baptista, Lorin Castleman as Petruchio, Kay Hutchinson Buckner as Katharina, Ruth Silveira as Bianca, Charles Botsford as Lucentio, Betty Ann Reed as the Widow, John Bogard as Hortensio.



Love's Labour's Lost, at Long Beach State College, California. Directed by Clayton Garrison. Linda Moisey as Princess of France, Warren Forsythe as Boyet, Diana Dahl as Rosaline, Shirley Reeves as Maria, Pat Koonz as Katharine.

the natural coarseness, childishness, and revengeful spirit of this creature. In Act III, scene ii, when Caliban allays the fears of the drunken and vulgar Trinculo and Stephano with his exquisitely poetical "Be not afear'd" speech, those two "sots" fell under the spell of the musical words and listened in a veritable trance.

For the most part, Trinculo was especially well-played by William Hickey; Clifton James's Stephano roared too loudly. One fault still noticeable at Stratford-on-the-Housatonic is the tendency to over-play low-comedy till it overpowers other scenes, also to fail to distinguish between romantic comedy characters and the "funny" people.

A great display was made of the scene of Prospero's pageant. Each of the goddesses—Anne Fielding as Iris, Rae Allen as Ceres, and Sada Thompson as Juno—sang her part well. Yet, somehow, this prolonged and artificial scene seems unnecessary. There is plenty of evidence of the power of Prospero's wand and the necromantic wisdom in his Book without it.

All in all, this production of a delicately poetical and difficult play will be remembered as one of the American Festival's best achievements.

The third play of the season, *The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra*, has been, in the history of Shakespearian performances, a history of failures. This production succeeded only to a limited degree. The fact is that the success of this play rests to a large extent in the hands of the title characters, and it must be reported that neither Miss Hepburn nor Mr. Ryan completely measured up.

Cleopatra is Miss Hepburn's seventh major Shakespearian role. Be it granted that she has improved in voice and manner, she will never be a success in these great parts until she is willing to submerge Katharine Hepburn, sacrifice the plaudits of those who admire her as a Hollywood star, and live the great ladies of Shakespeare. It may be said, however, to the credit of her interpretation, that at moments she made us feel that "age could not wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety." Her best work was done in the scenes of Antony's and Cleopatra's deaths.

There was little in Mr. Ryan's interpretation to keep before us the poet's conception of Antony as a supreme example of "greatness fallen". The moments when we should have felt "the triple-pillar of the world", "the demi-Atlas of this earth", "the crown o' the earth" somehow lacked depth and sincerity, and left the audience unmoved. His Antony was consistently a man with a hangover. Only in the touching farewell scene with Eros when Antony begs his faithful follower to hold the fatal sword did we get the nobility that was a conspicuous quality in Shakespeare's Antony.

Donald Davis' Enobarbus was uneven. He rose to the occasion in the beautiful way he delivered the famous passage describing Cleopatra on her barge, and especially in the scene of his own death. Here was the true and loyal follower of a distinguished general—literally the poet's mouthpiece—speaking not alone for himself but for all of Antony's soldiers, recognizing the greatness of his master's heart, and dying of self-chastising grief. Mr. Davis has in him the making of an excellent interpreter of Shakespeare. His voice, diction, and feeling for the rhythm of blank verse stood out.

The young Caesar of John Ragin was a sincere effort to play a part that he could not fill satisfactorily. Morris Carnovsky had the vacillating and weak

member of the Triumvirate, Lepidus, well in hand. Richard Waring's Soothsayer, Sada Thompson's Octavia, Will Geer's Agrippa, Claude Woolman's Menas were all in character.

Special mention should be made of Earle Hyman's Alexas and Clayton Corzatte's Eros. Both these players show a versatility that is valuable in such a stock company as the Stratford group.

The Pompey of Clifton James was good, if not excellent. Mr. James should work for better control of his voice.

The new stage setting was not at all suited to *Antony and Cleopatra*. As always, Tharon Musser's lighting deserved praise, and except for one or two places where it drowned out the voices of the actors, Norman Dello Joio's score fitted the changing moods of the play.

Some strange things were done to the text, in the way of cuts, displacements, and even actual lines written into the play to bridge gaps. At the opening of Scene ii of Act III, the clever dialogue between Enobarbus and Agrippa summing up the vacillating character of Lepidus was cut till it had no meaning. II. v and III. iii, the scenes in which Shakespeare brings out so admirably the feminine Cleopatra, were placed so close together that the balance that Shakespeare's order gave them was lost. In V. ii, the eunuch Mardian was substituted for Seleucus, Cleopatra's treasurer, and the actual conclusion of the play was spoiled by the cutting of nearly a page of the discussion between Caesar, Dolabella, and the First Guard concerning the manner of Cleopatra's death. Even Caesar's curtain speech had the first three lines lopped off. Granted that the play is both long and complicated, this was not skillful cutting but was crudely done in a way to give the impression that the actors had forgotten certain lines.

We still await a great performance of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

In conclusion, a word should be said about the increasing popularity of the student season that precedes the regular one. This year's revival for the young people was *A Winter's Tale*. Even with an extended season, tickets were sold out so far ahead that numbers of schools were unable to obtain places. It is a fine and encouraging thing to see tomorrow's adult audiences acquiring their background training in live theatre productions of the greatest dramas of all time.

Hunter College

The Fourth Annual Phoenix Shakespeare Festival

JERRY H. BRYANT and JAMES YEATER

IT is comforting for us who teach English literature to realize that we are not totally divorced from the active world that moves swiftly and sometimes confusedly around us, seemingly quite indifferent to our footnotes to *Paradise Lost* and *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia*. We still have one headliner who refuses to retire into senility and old age. There is probably no better testimony to the hold Shakespeare exercises over the popular interest than the last Phoenix Shakespeare Festival. Here in what Jean Paul Sartre would call one of the last American "camps in the desert", crowds from the hinterlands flocked to treat themselves to the strong sweet lines of England's best poet. The total attendance four years ago, the first year of the Festival, came to 2738. In 1960 this figure increased to 3443, a number which represents, pretty much, the capacity of the Phoenix Little Theatre building in the fine new Phoenix art center. As Mr. Edgar Anderson, the chairman of the Alfred Knight Shakespeare Section of the Phoenix Little Theatre, says, the most encouraging thing about these statistics is that over 65% of the audience were students. Without examining motives too closely, we will hope this turnout means that Arizona youth are spontaneously interested in witnessing timeless playwriting.

Three plays were presented this year, the performers, as in the past, representing a goodly proportion of the state's dramatic talent. The Phoenix Little Theatre group, under the direction of Robert Aden, presented *Henry V*. It was not, we are sorry to say, a performance that will be long remembered for its excellence. It lacked that insight which suddenly and unsolicitedly illuminates for the viewer, fresh from a reading of the play, a line or a stage position or a character. With the exception of Mr. Aden, who played the title role, and Kathleen Howell, who played Katherine, the play was considerably beyond the hearts of the intimidated players. (We might also except here Hal Chidnoff, the Chorus, who paraded back and forth on the darkened stage with a spotlight clinging faithfully to him and ranted somewhat in the grand old manner.) As much a disappointment as anything was the account of Falstaff's death. First of all, the obscurity in the play of the identity of the defeated old man was not helped by the foreignness of the roles to the actors. Secondly the scenes with Pistol (Robert Gusick), Nym (Vernon Jerome), Bardolph (Harvey Shahan), and Mistress Quickly (Grace Etchen) were for the most part rather heavy-handed slapstick, conducted with a debilitating awe of the bard's material. Thus, when Mistress Quickly recounted the consummate goldbrick's last meanderings, his babbling of green fields, it was clear that she had never seen him in his best

form at the Boar's Head Tavern—and it seemed equally clear that a good portion of the audience did not know whom she was talking about.

King Harry's scenes were rightly dominated by Mr. Aden. It was a comfort to have an experienced actor on the stage. Yet, to be frank, even he allowed himself to out-Herod Herod. Not possessing the confident modulations of an Olivier, he permitted the noble "Once more unto the breach, dear friends" to become the chest-thumping of a passion-tearer. The touching confusions of Harry's disguised dialogue with Bates, Court, and Williams were also a disappointment. It appeared that Charles Smith, Alan Beyer, and William Herron did not quite understand the anxiety of the soldiers they played, and the result was that a potentially moving scene lost most of its significance.

The producers of the play must be credited with a sincere and valid desire to create the realistic spectacle which is part of the play's nature. The Battle of Agincourt, however, as presented here, must come under Sidney's strictures: "While in the meantime two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?" In all fairness, it must be said that there were more than four soldiers in the scene, but the mailed soldiers, thundering down the aisles toward the stage, the handful of archers silhouetted against a crimson background and shooting from onstage into the wings, and the inevitable stomping of heavy feet on the bare boards of the stage as the enthusiastic cast simulated the great battle—all this was more embarrassing in its naive over-production than convincing. Once one has seen Olivier's movie version of the "pitched field" of Agincourt, the Little Theatre's ineffective excesses make him devoutly wish for more modest staging.

Certainly not all the scenes were dross, and we do not wish to appear gleefully critical. (We think, and think we think rightly, that *Henry V* was largely beyond the Little Theatre group's capacity.) The most fun in *Henry V* comes in the courting scene (the comedy, after *Henry IV, Part I*, is somewhat tiresome), and Mr. Aden and Kathleen Howell bore it all with delightful charm. Mr. Aden was a fine swashbuckler, full of humor and recent victory and incomparable Saxon confidence. Katherine becked and nodded with appropriate modesty and cleverness, tilted her head becomingly, appealed to her attendant with wide questioning eyes, until finally she succumbed to her conqueror's kiss. The audience greeted these proceedings with deserved appreciation—spontaneous laughter and even more spontaneous applause when the French king made his reappearance and ended the spell of good and convincing acting.

As for the audience, it was wonderfully enthusiastic, evidence that Shakespeare is still nearly the best theatre around, even when inadequately acted. Applause was registered each time the lights dimmed for a change of scene. The costumes must have done a good deal to lull the audience into their suspension of disbelief. The stage was seldom dull; not because of the sets—there were none to speak of—but the richness of Henry's golden cloaks and doublets, the ornate armor of the Frenchmen, and the bottle green velvet of the senile Charles VI.

Students of Phoenix College, under the direction of John Paul, presented the second Festival play, *Romeo and Juliet*. Mr. Paul is one of the most respected directors in the Phoenix area and is well remembered for his previous Festival productions of *Julius Caesar* and *Taming of the Shrew*. Under his guidance, *Romeo and Juliet* was a well-rounded and smoothly coordinated production.

In order to stage the 20 scenes of this play without delaying the action for scenery shifting, Mr. Paul and Dixon Fish designed a modified Elizabethan stage. An inner frame with a curtain, doors and two small side balconies was erected at a four-foot height to divide the stage into two general acting areas. With the addition of a step unit the entire stage was utilized for some scenes. For others only the forestage was needed, and necessary scene changes were made silently behind the curtain of the inner frame. With such a flexible setting, the actors were able to maintain an admirable pace and flow of action.

Directors and critics of the theatre have long been cognizant of the perplexing acting problem posed to those who undertake the title roles in this tragedy. It is difficult to find an actor and actress who can effectively communicate the adolescent zest and youthful intensity demanded in the early scenes of the play and yet have the maturity and depth to rise to the tragic heights of the ending. The acting transition is as difficult as in any play that Shakespeare wrote. This dilemma was reflected in the performances of both Romeo, as played by Eric Karson, and the Juliet of Anita Ladas. Karson was very effective in the early portions of the play. His Romeo was a sincere youth, melancholy and often brooding, but tempered with an infectious, light-hearted gaiety. He was not entirely successful, however, in the transition from the intense young lover to the demands of the tragic ending. Miss Ladas, on the other hand, displayed a dynamic dramatic power as the Juliet who is haunted by visions of the tomb and in the death scene itself, but in the opening action, and particularly in the balcony scene, she often slipped into an over theatrical, breathy type of diction that clashed with the tone of the scenes. This is to say only that these actors were not always as good as they usually were. Both of them brought much imagination and sensitivity to their roles, and gave performances that were warm and vivid.

The Mercutio of Michael Byron was a dashing rogue of a fellow that captivated the audience. Byron brought a vigor and audacity to his portrayal that completely dominated the stage. This energetic portrayal was certainly one of the highlights of the Festival. Equally effective was Betty Heisley's amusing interpretation of Juliet's nurse. The vitality of her acting and excellent sense of timing provided a fine series of comic scenes. Her servant, played by Tom Stovern, was a fine foil and a good comedian in his own right.

This was a well-balanced and unified production. The management of the crowds in the opening fight sequence and in the masked ball was exciting spectacle. The humor of the play was effectively handled without distracting from the tragic theme. At times some of the poetic values of the language itself were marred or lost entirely by prosaic line readings, but there was a sweep and grandeur to the staging that made *Romeo and Juliet* an excellent evening in the theatre.

The Tempest, presented by the University of Arizona, was well paced and visually attractive, successfully capturing the mood of Prospero's enchanted isle. Peter Marroney, head of the Drama Department at the University, staged this production with the same sense of detail and exactness that was noted in his direction of *King Lear* in last year's Festival.

The storm scene at the beginning of the play was mounted with an impressive sequence of light and sound which produced a startling dramatic effect.

The actors were dimly lighted behind a scrim that filled the proscenium opening. A pattern of moving light was played against the scrim that suggested waves and rain sweeping across the stage. The constantly shifting movement of the actors, as if tossed by a pitching deck, produced an effect that was highly realistic. The impression was visually exciting, though the shuffling of the actors' feet and the highly amplified storm recordings made the words of the actors almost inaudible.

For the rest of the play technical director Robert Burroughs provided a flexible setting made up of large three-dimensional rocks of different heights that gave the director admirable opportunities for stage picturization. Mr. Burroughs also devised an ingenious backing that contributed to the romantic mood of the play. Instead of employing the usual stage fabrics, he saw to it that the backdrop and wings were painted on a flexible plastic material that was faintly translucent when lighted from behind. Unfortunately, the front lighting was not always complimentary to the plastic material and there were moments of distracting reflections and glare. With the lights used to advantage, however, the lush tropical design of these drops contributed a great deal to the effectiveness of the setting.

The actors Marroney chose for this production worked well in the delicate and poetic acting style demanded of this idyllic romance. Robert Hurwitt, as Prospero, brought a gentle dignity to his portrayal of the omnipotent exiled Duke. Though there was a sameness of his interpretation that sometimes dulled the poetic effect of the longer passages, Hurwitt maintained a consistent characterization that gave solidity to the production as a whole. Martha Gibson, as Miranda, was most successful in disclosing the charming naivete that gave much warmth to the scenes in which she appeared. Dennis Wilkerson played Ariel with a lightness of touch that captured both the ethereal charm and the sprightly humor of this character. Imaginative make-up enhanced the effectiveness of this mischievous spirit that moved about the stage with the grace and poise of a ballet dancer.


The most striking characterization of the play was Bruce Pearson's Caliban. His guttural voice, lumbering movements, and grotesque costume combined to produce a fascinating stage impression. He was especially effective in the comic scenes with Trinculo (Brian Donohue) and Stephano (Clarke Bell), displaying much comic vigor in the famous scene where Stephano discovers Trinculo beneath Caliban's cloak.

All in all, Shakespeare in Phoenix continues to make his own way. Next year the Arizona State College at Flagstaff will participate in the Festival for the first time. It will be joined by the Phoenix Little Theatre and the Arizona State University at Tempe, and we hope that the crowds will be even bigger and more enthusiastic than they were this spring.

Arizona State University

Shakespeare in Oregon — 1960

ROBERT D. HORN

OOK, you, the stars shine still!" "We are the stars' tennis balls." These exclamations, as well as Caesar's ironic, "I am fixed as the Northern Star", and Brutus' sagacious, "'Tis not in our stars", rang out on the night air at Ashland this year. Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, powerfully projected by Director James Sandoe, affirmed the new policy of adding a non-Shakespearian play to the customary four. Besides, *Julius Caesar*, *Richard II*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Tempest* all variously reflected the Elizabethan response to the stars as symbols, if not agents, of fate, and hieroglyphs of mystery, the spell of poetry, and the pettiness of man's existence. On the final evening of the six-weeks run, the majesty of Nature was magnificently expressed in dashes of rain, flicks of lightning, and a brilliant, round Moon, emerging ballerina-like from a dark cavern of cloud to glide across the sky just before Prospero evoked his own retributive tempest. It is because Shakespeare so pervasively reminds us of Nature that it is appropriate to review productions of his plays at Ashland by also commenting on setting, which there extends out to the rocky, forested hills, and includes the night cries of birds, the barking of dogs, and all the pulsations of night-music.

But what would Shakespeare and his audience have made of the strange new evocation of modern Prosperos, the Echo Satellite, a star that twice for each performance moved overhead, breasting the tide of westward-moving stars? Even as Bosola and the Arragonian brothers writhed in their death throes, it brought Marlovian reminders of Man's pursuit of dark knowledge and power which may endanger his humanity by transcending the natural scope of his assigned rationality. Putting a girdle round the world, it also seemed to comment on hybris and madness, both mild and furious, which were everywhere challenging the balance of Nature and Order in the season's plays: oppressive in the *Duchess*, lamentable in the immaturity and self-indulgence of *Richard II*, momentary and hilarious in the feline furies of shrewish Katharina, coldly fateful and menacing in Caesar's insistence on going to his cutting down, and both sinister and grotesque in the lust for power and swinishness of the shipload of self-debased and distorted humanity that Prospero's magic threw up on his nameless isle.

One of the chief values in adding a play outside the Shakespeare canon was to affirm both the resemblances and the vast difference. The demands on technicians and actors were identical. The impact on the audience was to awaken awareness of Shakespeare's superior humanity and wisdom. Webster's relatively humorless, stony strenuousness and his persistent enforcing of moral doctrine were strikingly in contrast with Shakespeare's unobtrusive and reassuring revela-

tions of ethical truth. Just as the Duchess' evil brothers put her to the screws of their own self-torturing cruelty, Webster seemed to grind on the sensibilities of his audience. Consequently they sought relief in one of the two favorite avenues of escape, convulsive laughter, but not in the other. No one, in either of the two performances, walked out. The play also gave sharp lessons in form. Its spate of anticlimaxes, the hodge-podge of fifth-act sensationalism and improbabilities, the rondo of homicides, all affirmed again the Shakespearian difference. With him the hideous and monstrous actuality always points to an ultimate human ideality, to the potential grandeur and wonder of human life. Webster did look ahead to our modern psychotic preoccupations and feast of horrors served up by such perfect butlering as Alfred Hitchcock's; but his play reminded that poetic truth and beauty may be snuffed out by such weltering in blood and horror. "Strangling is a quiet death", but it is death.

The four Shakespearian plays gave definite assurance of one valuable fact, the stability of the Ashland tradition. That is, again they were presented for the sake of Shakespeare and their innate poetic and dramatic values, not for deploying big names, for cheap, audience-catching novelties, or blatant theatricalism. It is this quality that entitles them to notice in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, since they provide a laboratory, unequaled elsewhere, for study of problems of production at the Globe and Fortune. In the absence of Producing Director Angus Bowmer, in England on a richly deserved opportunity to survey productions at Stratford and elsewhere, the spirit might have been expected to lapse somewhat. His absence was subtly felt, but also handsomely compensated for in the achievements of an almost entirely new troupe of over thirty performers whom he had interviewed and attracted to Oregon for the season. Well-disciplined, talented, and loaded with promise, often exciting, and always devoted, all merit mention. An impressive and gratifying advance was in diction. Although these new players came from Rhode Island, New Jersey, Georgia, Texas, Colorado, and the Pacific Coast states, almost all reflected sound training toward a surprising facility in commanding what is ineptly known as "stage" or *English* English. This effect was consistent and harmonious, not the mere result of dropping r's and twisting a few vowels. It was spoken resonantly and "on the tongue". It achieved an increased clarity and projection as well as a distinct enhancement and elevation of character.

Acknowledged queen of the company was Ann Hackney. Tall, blonde, Greer Garsonesque, she brought an arresting blend of her native northeast Texan freshness and the authenticity and assurance of a year's study at the London Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. She swept through a spirited Kate in the *Shrew*, ennobled the Duchess of York with perceptive pathos and force, and rose to a grandeur in Webster's *Duchess* that carried assurance that she will herself rise to higher levels of acting. Shirley Cox and Shirley Patton, excellent in less impressive roles, showed comparable command of control in speech and action.

On the masculine side, excluding for the moment director-actors, something more than courtesy to guests dictates first notice of two young English actors. Christopher Newton, for a biting Casca, a determined Bolingbroke, and an especially well-thought-out Bosola, showed the value and wisdom of the seeding in of native English actors, as much for acting technique as for speech. He did much

to compensate for the absence of William Oyler, traditional "heavy" at Ashland. Graham Woodruff, trained at Bristol University, showed a plasticity and lightness of diction and action that made his Ariel enchanting. Attired in green, with gold spangles and fluttering streamers, he suggested swift flights of fancy and pure spirit. As Lucius, his tender boyishness set off the gravity of Brutus' ordeal. However, it was his Grumio, perfectly catching the blend of adroit wit and loyal submission to his role of burden-bearer, that was a collector's item. Along with an excellent Biondello of Milton Fuchs, and the lust-and-avarice dried Gremio of Hugh Evans, he enforced the Plautine values in the sub-plot that make the *Shrew* much more than a mere farce of woman-taming. Tom Vail's Tranio added to the roster of clever servants with a finesse resulting from his unusual poise and finish. His Cardinal was icy and sensual, and his Antonio in the *Tempest* mean-spirited in a quite different way. An elegance bordering on corruption marked his Bushy, and in all his roles contributed a tonality of decadent courtliness that has gone too far from wholesome Nature, whether on Prospero's isle, in Malfi, or even in Pisa and Padua.

More maturity was apparent in the acting of Gerard Larson, in an alert Cassius and a sharply contrasting Petruchio, and in that of Charles Taylor, equally adept as aged Gaunt, daughter-plagued Baptista, and brooding, ill-fated Brutus. Even so, these two seemed best in their lesser moments rather than in their big scenes, perhaps from the over-expressiveness of face in the one and the relative impassiveness of feature in the other. They rose handsomely to the demands of prescribed situations, but conveyed less of precisely etched individuality.

Lavishly demonstrating the potential of minor roles was a newcomer, William Livingston. By sheer bulk and physical displacement, but even more by an unusually firm stage presence, he made even Lord Willoughby stand out in *Richard II*, gave point to both Cicero and Pindarus, and the precise blend of generous and impractical humanity to Gonzalo. However, it was as Christopher Sly that he made the frame wellnigh outshine the picture. Drunkenly beached at the foot of one of the posts at the opening, he was then deposited in the Lord's chamber, the first balcony, and on awakening there with his "madam", the disguised Page, leaned on the railing there as spectator throughout the play. Director Loper aptly drew on *The Taming of a Shrew* for a final scene of reawakening to the hard light of reality. Mr. Livingston commands a full-bodied falsetto which he uses to enforce states of astonishment, bibulous acceptance of good fortune, or pained disillusionment. Whatever the real date of the play, he made his Sly stand solidly midway between Shakespeare's two greatest artists in euphemism, self-gratification, and effrontery, Bottom and Falstaff. His performance made one cry out for him as the Fat Knight in next year's production of the *Henry IV, Part 1*.

Another minor role, chief gardener in *Richard II*, was sensitively filled by Jerry Turner, whose main contribution lay in directing *Julius Caesar*. Since he is a teacher at Humboldt State College, where Livingston is a student, one may well be seeing something of the master-apprentice relationship that was the core of Elizabethan training of actors. Certainly the linking of the study of Shakespeare in colleges with performance produces solid results. For example, in *Richard II* clear statement was made of the King's intention to stop the duel,

established before the event, and sharply stated in the acting of it, by an abrupt, cynical gesture. Such solutions, not unequivocally defined in the text, call for the student of the plays as well as the director and actor.

Among major roles none was more gratifyingly projected than the Richard II of William Kinsolving. Tall, kingly in bearing, yet over-refined for the rugged demands of sovereignty, he was one of the most successful in truly creating a role. More perceptivity of the depths of feeling in the high moments was possible, or at least more expression to the audience of what was going on in soul and mind. Though charming as an effect, the brilliant yellow and gold of his court dress and chain mail bordered on expressionism, distracting from character. It brought the reminder that playing the plays in their original staging tends to make novelties and experimentalism in staging and costuming seem both incongruous and obtrusive. Mr. Kinsolving assuredly should be a prime candidate for next year's Hamlet, as was suggested in his severe black attire in the prison scene, where he appeared, stripped of his power but not of his majesty. The play was directed by Richard Risso, who handsomely showed that he could also perform, both in his tormented and self-torturing Duke in Webster's *Duchess*, and by a Julius Caesar who was almost too powerful and harsh to command sympathy, or to leave the play to Brutus after his death. Combination of acting and direction was even more brilliantly exemplified by Robert B. Loper. All in all, his noble, resonant, beautifully poised Prospero, directed by James Sandoe, and his own mounting of a *Shrew*, packed with delightful revelations and wit, were among the richest and most satisfying contributions of the entire season. In both these plays the return of costume designer Douglas A. Russell, after a year's leave of absence, was glowingly apparent. Admittedly fits of economy or needle-fatigue and wardrobe rummaging marred some of the productions, especially *Julius Caesar*, but in the *Shrew* and *The Tempest* fabric, fancy, and dramaturgy danced together.

Employment of the new theatre, with its enlarged facilities, was pleasantly restrained. The top, musician's balcony was used only twice, for Ariel's first appearance, casting spells below, and for the estimable musicians themselves in a final farewell assemblage. The preliminary singing and dancing were again excellent. Lute, viol de gamba, recorder, and harpsichord provided "quaint" and delicate enrichment. At Ashland audiences can continue to enjoy recovery of Shakespeare's perceptive genius, and in the 1960 season all records for attendance were surpassed. Publicity Director Carl Ritchie reported a total attendance of 42,978 for this twentieth season, 91.7% of capacity. Also, always to be mentioned, the excellent Institute of Renaissance Studies provided its well established series of lectures, formal courses, exhibits, and publication of the *Ashland Studies in Shakespeare*, all under the vigorous direction of Dr. Margery Bailey. Next year's season promises the same extension of Shakespeare in performance at the modest town in the Rogue Valley. The plays will include three favorites, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Henry Fourth, Part 1*, and *Hamlet*. *All's Well* provides a rarely available play, while for continuance of the new policy of a non-Shakespearian production, three performances of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* are to be given.

University of Oregon

Reviews

All's Well that Ends Well (New Arden). Edited by G. K. HUNTER. Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. [lx] + 152. \$3.85.

Mr. Hunter is unique among editors of *All's Well* in not complaining about what a thankless task it is to work with this difficult text. He has given us the best edition we have of the play, and for that we should be grateful. The particular excellence of his work is that he manages to be conservative and synthetic, yet independent. In the discussion of the text, the date, and the source and in his critical introduction, much of what he offers has been said before, but spottily. He has brought it all together, taken a fresh look, and given us conclusions which are seldom startling, but almost always sound.

Mr. Hunter rejects the long-popular view that the confused text provides evidence of revision. He demonstrates conclusively that F was set from foul papers, probably from a stage when the play was still in the process of composition. Sir Walter Greg has anticipated this conclusion, though he went ahead to suggest that the actual copy was a transcript of the foul papers, a step which Mr. Hunter sees no need to take.

In some details the argument is pressed too far. The entry for Parolles in III.iii might as easily come from prompt copy as from foul papers, for, even though he is mute, he belongs on stage to suggest his leech-like attachment to Bertram. Likewise, songs printed as part of the context probably originate in authorial papers, but such errors might easily persist into prompt copy. (On p. xii, n. 3, second line from the foot of the page, "last four pages" should read "last two pages".)

Even though the editor must realize that his defense of F readings will often be a defense of Compositor B instead of Shakespeare, Mr. Hunter is right to be conservative in his text. Because of the difficulty in separating modernizations from real alterations, it is impossible to be precise, but I find only about thirty-five departures from F in Mr. Hunter's text (excluding punctuation, stage directions, and speech tags), or just about half the number in the old Arden. In only two places in the dialogue has Mr. Hunter altered an F reading not tampered with in the old Arden (II.i.161 and III.ii.110). We are not likely to get a much more conservative edition than this.

Even the editor of such a text as *All's Well* is not likely to be completely satisfied with his work; so it will not be surprising to find readers disagreeing in details. In some cases Mr. Hunter has been ultra-conservative: for instance, I would read *Thus* for F *This* (I.ii.56); *nation* for F *nature* (III.i.17); *has* for F *had* (IV.ii.71); *are* for F *is* (V.iii.307). Surely we should insert *But* at the beginning of II.ii.5 to avoid losing the point.¹ On the other hand, the punctuation of F at II.ii.37 is better than Mr. Hunter's; there is no real need to add an aside at II.v.27; and at IV.iii.231, if one rejects F *your*, he ought to read *our* (with most editors), not *the* with this edition. But these are arguable details. The only positive error I find is the failure to bracket three inserted words (though the additions are indicated in the collations): *Attendants* (II.i.1, stage

¹ See *SQ*, XI, 387ff.

direction); *not* (II. v. 50); *her* (V. ii. 32). The collation heading in II. i should read 92, 93 (not 92, 92).

As with the text, so with the glosses. At I. i. 101, "take place" surely means "take precedence". At II. i. 126-7, Helena probably means simply, "Think kindly of me." To find an obscene pun behind II. ii. 64 is straining. At II. iii. 127 "swell's" should be glossed or emended.

Wisely rejecting attempts to find topical allusions and strata of verse from different periods, Mr. Hunter settles on a date of 1603-4, mainly by relating the play to *Measure for Measure*, usually dated 1604. The discussion of the source provides a useful analysis of changes introduced by Shakespeare. The Painter translation of the source tale is included in an appendix.

In his critical introduction Mr. Hunter sets out to show how discordant elements pulling in different directions impede interpretation of the play: "Critical realism accompanies fairy-tale, satire shadows spirituality, complex moral perceptions deny us a simplicity of approach, complex intellectual interests demand an analytical and detached attitude to the characters" (p. xliii). It is not fashionable these days to admit that a Shakespearian play is simple; so there will be few supporters for my view that most of the critical problems in *All's Well* would have gone undetected if Bertram weren't such a rotten bounder in the final scene. But insistence on complexity gets Mr. Hunter into trouble. For instance, in order to read the latter half of the play as a demonstration of the working of Destiny, he finds there a "Helena passive" to contrast with the "Helena active" of the first half. He argues that Shakespeare altered his source to point up the contrast, but the only change is that Shakespeare's Helena lands in Florence by chance instead of on purpose. This is a weak thread to support a symbolic reading. It seems to me quite clear that, even though Diana is her agent, Helena has matters firmly in hand right up to the final moment and is really more active in the latter part of the play than in the "healing of the king" episodes. Further, Mr. Hunter involves himself in a contradiction by seeing Helena passive in the hands of Destiny and at the same time the symbol of Divine Grace (an active agent). Of course, one can escape a contradiction by calling it an ambiguity or a paradox, thereby demonstrating the complexity of the play.

The analysis of the youth-age conflict is pretentious. When Mr. Hunter says that "acceptance of death, leading to fuller life, is something that Helena, the Countess, the King, Parolles, Diana all have to face in turn", I wonder if we are reading the same play. It is a mistake, I think, to suggest (even with a qualifying "perhaps") that the "prosaic opportunism of Parolles" may stain "the career of Helena with the imputation of ambition as well as showing up the degraded mind of Parolles." Nor can I see that Parolles' description of the Florentine armies exposes "the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war . . . to . . . withering realism." Nothing is exposed but Parolles.

Despite these and similar flaws that come from reading too much with the head and not enough willing suspension of disbelief, most of Mr. Hunter's analysis is very good, but his real contribution comes with the next step. "Much that seems perverse in *All's Well* begins to fall into focus" if we consider it and *Measure for Measure* together with the romances as a group of "later comedies". The denouements of the two earlier plays "clearly foreshadow the endings of the romances." Likewise, the disparate elements so troublesome in *All's Well* reappear in the later plays, but there they are harmonized by the "power of a new poetic vision". The germ of this view is probably to be found in a couple of footnotes in Mr. G. Wilson Knight's discussion of *Pericles* in *The Crown of Life*.

Even the reader who grows restive with symbolic interpretations of the later plays can hardly deny that *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* have more in common with the romances than with *Troilus*, so that a group of "later comedies" makes sense, no matter what the critical approach. Mr. Hunter's point is worth careful consideration.

If I have not found everything in Mr. Hunter's edition to my liking, that is as it should be. It will be a sorry day for the academic branch of the Shakespeare industry when an edition appears that raises no opposition. Despite my quarrel with many details, the edition is a good one, worthy of being included in the new Arden series.

Lehigh University

FRANK S. HOOK

The Question of Hamlet. By HARRY LEVIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. [xiv] + 178. \$3.75.

Since the author does not deal with historical or textual matters in this publication of his Alexander Lectures on *Hamlet*, it is more relevant here to consider his critical approach. Mr. Levin emphasizes the resolved duality, a principle of movement not without its heavy commitments since the critic must constantly construct pairs of antithetical "elements" to be resolved at the level of synthesis or *synaesthesia*. His premise is that in *Hamlet* "the disparity between its primitive and its civilized components, which is an integral part of its fabric, is equally vital to its significance." Such components are "harsh outlines and rich surfaces, Gothic clowns and classical allusions, Viking prowess and humanistic learning, medieval superstition and modern skepticism, crude melodrama and subtle meditation." Another such series of implicitly defined dualities culminates in the opposition of "action" to "thought", and Mr. Levin selects this pair as his point of departure, noting that this interrelationship gives rise in the play to "the habit of generalization" which in turn lends a special quality to the "diction". It is here that "our scrutiny is most concretely rewarded", for although a play may be "drama", and also a "vehicle for ideas", it is "primarily and finally a verbal structure".

Interpreting sentence and phrase according to tacit assumptions regarding the artistic organization of the play, Mr. Levin notes in the "diction" three rhetorical categories: "Interrogation", "Doubt", and "Irony". The rhetorical mode of *Hamlet* is *Interrogatio* eliciting the unforeseen answer or no answer at all. But another such mode is *Dubitatio*, the choice between alternatives. "Why" proceeds to "what should we do". Yet the "interplay" between these preoccupations is not to be resolved according to any stringent ethical code. "Readiness is all", and "the dramatic resolution conveys us, beyond the man-made sphere of poetic justice, toward the ever-receding horizons of cosmic irony." Such a synthesis as "irony" pieced together "out of the playwright's assumptions about the nature of human experience" cannot solve "the incalculable contradictions between the personal life and the nature of things. Yet it can teach us to live with them."

To relate this dialectic to the play itself, Mr. Levin most often utilizes premises inherent in an idea of imitative form. The structure of doubt in the play, "to hesitate in the face of two possibilities", is delineated by the doubling and redoubling of words and phrases, by Hamlet's "*double-entendres*", Claudius' "double-talk", and by "the twin figures of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern". Similarly, the triadic synthesis which "irony" achieves is to be reinforced for instance by Granville-Barker's contention that the play is best divided into three acts, by

the "treble woe" overtaking Polonius and his two children, and by the "three-fold" consequences of the old king's death.

Three of Mr. Levin's previously published articles form "Supplementary Studies". "The Antic Disposition" argues that Hamlet must assume a madness to be able to speak with impunity as *ceiron* like those contemporary stage fools who, with Socrates and the "humanistic" Erasmus (might one add St. Paul?), presented their own wisdom as "folly". "The Tragic Ethos" reviews Peter Alexander's *Hamlet: Father and Son*, supporting certain contentions there as to the nature of tragedy, and, finally, "An Explication of the Player's Speech" provocatively analyzes that much ignored section of the play. This essay, his keen explication elsewhere of the fourth soliloquy, and the many casual insights throughout his work show Mr. Levin at his best.

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J. LEEDS BARROLL

Schools in Tudor England. By CRAIG R. THOMPSON; *Universities in Tudor England.* By CRAIG R. THOMPSON; *The Government of England under Elizabeth.* By CONYERS READ; *English Sports and Recreations.* By LILLY C. STONE (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Washington, D. C.; The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958-1960. 75¢ each.

The first two booklets, following upon Mr. Craig's earlier account of the English Church in the sixteenth century give a very rounded picture of the state of formal education during the Tudor period, and of its dependence upon, and indeed its origin in, the church. In a society where Church and State are so intimately connected it is not surprising that education should be a function of the church and even reflect with it the changing political scene.

A truly secular conception of education is something quite different and much more recent.

Free education, however, is nothing new, for we are told the Grammar School was free to all but the lowest classes, who, it was supposed, had no need of education. It would be interesting to know what percentage of the population came into this class. I can imagine they were the fathers, or the grand-fathers of that "barren quantity of spectators" who were to be found among Shakespeare's audience.

Although boys and girls learned their A.B.C's together in the petty schools, the girls were not permitted to attend the grammar schools. This seems like a kindly dispensation, for the life of a Tudor schoolboy was hard to the point of endurance. He had an eight- or ten-hour day and a six-day week in the school-room, beginning at six o'clock in the summer and seven in the winter.

Now I think I understand why Shakespeare's whining schoolboy crept "like a snail unwillingly to school". That child was probably creeping upon an empty stomach through the dark streets, at six o'clock on a foggy morning. Breakfast was at 9:00! There were few holidays and no play. "Everyone agreed", says Mr. Thompson, "that children who went to school ought to be there eight or ten hours a day, learn their lessons properly, and grow up as quickly and quietly as possible into sensible creatures, ready for the station to which it should please Providence to call them".

The schoolmasters appear to have been poorly paid then as they say they are today, and the "rogues and vagabonds" who were to become the actors must have done very well by comparison once they had achieved "the common stage", and created their own market.

The University studies aimed at intellectual discussion based on rhetoric and philosophy. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were studied and the lectures and

disputations were normally in Latin. Among subjects disputed at Cambridge were "Whether love is a disease", "Whether life can be prolonged by the aid of medical art" and "Whether a man can live more than seven days without food or drink". Did nobody try it, asks Mr. Thompson.

One cannot praise too highly these excellent and readable booklets. The high standard of Folger scholarship is maintained in them, and they are at the same time a pleasant and useful introduction for the general reader. Mr. Craig has a graceful style and he writes with a freedom and authority that only the expert can command.

The two latest Folger Booklets (by Read and Stone) are at the same time the reviewer's pleasure and despair. Within their range, as brief introductory surveys of the subject, they could hardly be improved upon. Much knowledge and literary skill is needed to write briefly yet adequately on a large subject, and certainly these qualities are not lacking here.

Mr. Read describes the Government of England from the Crown and its ministers down to the local officials, and although the system was fair and good in principle we are to see that in practice it was all corruption. Officials in the Queen's service were allowed to exploit their positions and increase their incomes by fees and perquisites, and by the sale of offices under their control. Even the local J.P.'s who had the responsibility of finding soldiers for the wars would sometimes levy twice the number of recruits and then allow half of them to buy themselves out. Corruption was the common morality and perhaps the good man was only less corrupt than his neighbour.

It was a society based upon inequality with its roots in feudalism, yet feeling its way towards a new pattern of life. People were moving from one social class to another. Many of the old aristocracy had been killed in the wars and many noblemen were newly created. Prosperous townsmen were aspiring to be gentry, and buying their way into the country side. They were hard masters.

There was comparatively little religious persecution. A national church was established under royal supremacy and it was imposed upon the nation by an Act of Uniformity. Those who refused to attend the established church had to pay a fine of one shilling each Sunday, but that was better than losing one's ears!

English Sports and Recreations is another excellent introduction to a most diverse subject. It gives a great deal of information and makes one want to read more. For example, there are only two paragraphs upon the whole subject of dancing but the reader is referred in the bibliography to Mabel Dolmetsch's *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600* and to *Orchesography* so that is good enough.

Nearly half of each of these booklets is given over to illustrative material, which is a good thing, for these pictures bring the text most vividly to life. The Bibliography in each case is most valuable.

*Shakespeare Memorial Library,
Birmingham Public Libraries*

WAVENEY R. N. PAYNE

August Wilhelm Schlegel, as a Translator of Shakespeare. By MARGARET E. ATKINSON. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958. Pp. [x] + 67. 8s. 6d.

This is a discerning presentation of Wilhelm August Schlegel as a translator of Shakespeare. The subtitle, "A comparison of three plays with the original", indicates clearly the scope of the work. The content of the book is well organized and presented in a lucid style.

In the introductory chapter, Professor Atkinson discusses briefly the magnitude of the task involved in the translation of Shakespeare's plays on the basis of the standards set by Schlegel in his essay, *Etwas über William Shakespeare bei Gelegenheit Wilhelm Meisters*. The translator must achieve similar results as the original work in fidelity of content, form, style, tone and atmosphere—this in spite of the use of entirely different tools. The aims are the transferring of a work from one language to another in its entirety without omission, alteration or addition in any respect, and resistance to the natural and perhaps unconscious tendency on the part of the translator to superimpose on the work the translator's own prejudice and predilections. These problems are magnified by the fact that Shakespeare was translated from one age to another—that two distinct stages of linguistic development are involved. The author has chosen *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night* and *Julius Caesar*—tragedy, comedy and ancient history—to show the vast range of Shakespeare's genius and the challenge faced by the translator.

The second part is devoted to "content and diction". Here the author demonstrates by well-selected examples that generally Schlegel is extremely skillful in rendering the hidden meanings and rhetorical effects by equally evocative terms in German, despite Shakespeare's prodigal use of archaic words, baffling phrases, allusions and extensive use of imagery and puns. The immense scope of knowledge and experience of the British genius prove at times a stumbling block, yet every deviation from the original—be it ever so small—tends to weaken the boldness and vigor of his model, the vitality and expressiveness of Shakespeare.

The third chapter deals with verbal sound, the sensuous contribution of rhythm, rhyme and other musical features of poetic expression. Again the author provides ample evidence that on the whole, Schlegel succeeds magnificently in reproducing in broad outline the contrasts of tempo and verbal melody underlying the musical pattern of the plays. Nevertheless, we are also shown by striking examples the impossibility of faithful reproduction of the originals due to a different medium: German cannot be made to sound like English. In this field Schlegel found the going hardest.

In the closing chapter, Professor Atkinson points out the unprecedented interest in Shakespeare studies and Shakespeare translations in the years following the appearance of Schlegel's work. Later translators, even such men as Richard Flatter, Hans Rothe and Rudolf Alexander Schröder, in spite of some felicitous touches in some passages do not surpass Schlegel's work, but rather help to establish the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare as *the* German translation, and Schlegel as "a translator by the grace of God".

This book, although small in size and number of pages, is in every respect a fine performance. The author makes sound judgments, sensible allowances for differences, writes with great poetic understanding of Shakespeare and of A. W. Schlegel. Every serious student of Shakespeare and of Shakespeare's place in German literature will benefit greatly from this study.

University of Maryland

A. J. PRAHL

The First Book of Consort Lessons Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 and 1611. Edited by SYDNEY BECK. Foreword by C. S. SMITH. New York, London, Frankfurt: C. F. Peters for the New York Public Library, 1959. Pp. [xx] + 194. Cloth, \$35.00; paper, \$25.00.

"To the Right Honorable, Sir Stephen Some Knight, Lord Mayor of the Citty of London and to the Right Worshipful the Aldermen of the same,

Thomas Morley Gent. of her Maiesties Chappell, wisheth long health and felicitie." With these words one of England's most notable musicians began the dedication of a work which, of prime importance, is well known historically but practically unknown with respect to actual use. In this *First Booke of Consort Lessons* (issued with 23 pieces in 1599, with 25 in 1611), Thomas Morley brought out an anthology of extraordinary significance, not only because of its inherent musical interest but also because of its specificity of instrumentation for an ensemble of six players. Acting more as editor, anthologist and arranger Morley declared on the title-page that these pieces were "made by diuers exquisite authors, for six Instruments to play together, the Treble Lute, the Pandora, the Cittern, the Base-Violl, the Flute & Treble-Violl." These constituted the "broken consort" (a group of instruments of varied types), which differed enormously in timbre and effect from the suaver "consort of viols" limited to strings.

This modern edition of Morley's celebrated collection is a sumptuous publication. The music is beautifully printed (with modern clefs), the scholarly notes are full and informative, the critical apparatus is generous and clear. The pieces are laid out in modern score form, there are eight facsimiles from Elizabethan sources, and a tipped-in frontispiece handsomely shows (in color) a group of musicians playing the same instruments these arrangements require. Sydney Beck, who edited the volume and when necessary reconstructed missing parts (chiefly lute), has long been a member of the Music Division of the New York Public Library. This project has occupied him for years, and it is a pleasure to report that the results form a notable achievement. Not the least vexing problem was to assemble the sources from which a reliable edition could be made. No complete set of parts exists anywhere, and Mr. Beck, starting from the treble viol part (1611) in his own institution, had to locate other parts in Oxford, London, and San Marino, California. Even then no printed lute part ever came to light, but fortunately a lute manuscript at Cambridge University provided both sources and guidance for much of what was lacking. The editing of old music is, at best, a tricky business; not only must it look plausible, it must sound well. In a note Mr. Beck says: "What has finally been set down on paper has stood the test of repeated performance by a competent group of players on the instruments for which the music was written. Every effort has thus been made to provide the scholar with an accurate transcription and the practical musician with an idiomatic and useful performing text."

The 25 pieces included here are assigned to composers upon the judgment of the editor, but it is impossible to say exactly who did what. Six composers are represented: Richard Alison (7), William Byrd (2), John Dowland (4), Thomas Morley (8), Peter Phillips (2), Nicholas Stogers (1)—one piece is anonymous—but the cautious editor adds a question mark to no less than 18 of these attributions.

There seems to be no direct connection between this book and William Shakespeare or his plays, even though one of the arrangements (Morley's ?) is based on the perplexing air *O Mistress Mine* (Morley's ?). Nevertheless the pieces are music that was popular in Shakespeare's time, they were undoubtedly played by actors and entertainers in theatres and innyards as well as at banquets and noble festivals, and they exude a flavor that is atmospheric and authentic.

Mr. Beck speaks of having played and tested these pieces with the instruments originally called for, but it is not strictly necessary to wait for such precise equipment. Describing the same set of pieces in *Proceedings of the*

Royal Musical Association (1947-48) Thurston Dart arranged for the performance of several with this combination:

violin	—	instead of	treble viol
bassoon	—	"	" bass recorder (i.e., flute)
violoncello	—	"	" bass viol
celesta	—	"	" lute
harp	—	"	" pandora
piano	—	"	" cittern

Mr. Dart explained: "My choice of modern equivalents has been guided by my desire to reproduce in twentieth-century terms to a twentieth-century audience the characteristically romantic and impressionistic effect of Morley's sextet." Thus it is feasible to recreate a goodly share of instrumental music that Shakespeare probably enjoyed.

Library of Congress

EDWARD N. WATERS

English Pronunciation 1500-1700. By E. J. Dobson. Oxford University Press, 1957. 2 vol. Pp. [xxiv] + 444; vi + 445-1078. \$26.90.

Early Modern English pronunciation is not devoid of interest, though the multitude of interpreters of passages from Tudor or Stuart literature, when trying to support their theses, often quote from second-hand or third-hand evidence. Belief in authority is a necessary evil and reliance on "experts" is the shibboleth of the day. But it is surprising to find so many interpreters seeking support from books about Shakespearean puns or Miltonian spellings when there is so much factual and first-hand information available in the works of the numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century phoneticians, grammarians, lexicographers, prosodists and orthoepists.

The lasting merit of the monumental work under review is that it attempts a complete reappraisal of the writings of the English-born authors who, between 1500 and 1700, dealt with spelling and pronunciation. No serious reader will deny the author's claim that in his book the variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century speech is more fully demonstrated than in previous works.

Of the two volumes the first, *Survey of the Sources*, gives us in nearly 450 pages an explanatory, critical, and historical account of all the sources of importance known to the author. The early movement for English spelling reform and the development of phonetic studies before 1700 are described in detail. Accounts of several new sources are given, ranging from the Welsh Hymn (recently edited by Dobson from all the extant manuscripts), "Wadus" (the elusive spelling-reformer, now identified by Dobson with Sir William Wade, one of Elizabeth's ambassadors), Robinson's *Art of Pronunciation* (recently edited by Dobson together with Robinson's phonetic transcription of Richard Barnfield's *Lady Pecunia*), Thomas Tomkis' *De Analogia Anglicani Sermonis*, and Thomas Hayward's *English Institutions*, to Sir Isaac Newton's *Notebook* (c.1660-62).

The second volume (pp. 445-1078) is a formal and detailed phonology, based on first-hand evidence, i.e. on the writings of the English-born phoneticians and orthoepists of the period. We are thus given a very complete picture of the pronunciation of English before, during, and after Shakespeare's time.

In a book that embodies such a wealth of detail there must necessarily be many points that give rise to discussion, sometimes of a critical nature. Dobson's

view on the vowel changes will not meet with general approval among other scholars. Rhymes are often used as evidence, but Dobson seems to work under the delusion that practically all rhymes in "major" poets are "perfect" rhymes and ignores almost completely "traditional" rhymes. Levins' *Manipulus* is one of the works most often quoted in the second volume, but since not only his Yorkshire vocabulary but also his Yorkshire pronunciation so often appear in his rhymes, it is difficult to understand why he is used to corroborate Southern pronunciations to such an extent as he is. Further relevant additions can probably be made to the biographical data and Dobson is not always happy in his suggestions about the origin of his various authorities, e.g. when he tries to make Bullokar a native of East Anglia. The phonetic evidence has not always been sifted, and in a good many cases obvious misprints have been recorded as "variant" pronunciations. As Dobson's conclusions are based so extensively on the evidence of details it is also of course imperative that the evidence should be quoted and reported correctly. But this seems not always to be the case. The reliability of Dobson's statistics and quotations must sometimes be called in question, and future scholars in the field cannot always dispense with a study of the original sources.

The difficulties of interpreting the often conflicting evidence in a period characterized by such a wealth of phonetic variants are apparent, and the various shortcomings pointed out above¹ must not be allowed to overshadow the great merits of the book, which will remain a standard work of reference for many years to come. It is a book which no student of early Modern English literature or language can afford to neglect.

Stockholm University

BROD DANIELSSON

¹ For a substantiated and detailed criticism the reader is referred to *Studia Neophilologica*, 31 (1959), 275-284.

Queries and Notes

HAMLET'S SULLIED/ SOLID FLESH

MALCOLM WARE

In two notes by John Dover Wilson published in *The Times Literary Supplement*, the reading *sullied* for the more widely accepted *solid* in the opening line of Hamlet's first soliloquy is eloquently defended as valid both dramatically and linguistically.¹ And the same reading is proposed later when Professor Wilson recalls that he was earlier "unwittingly reviving a suggestion made by the novelist George Macdonald in 1885 and . . . independently put forward by Dowden in his 'Arden' edition of 1899. . . ."²

It seems, however, that Tennyson can be credited with first suggesting this plausible emendation. In 1883, the poet proclaimed *Hamlet* ". . . the greatest single creation in literature that I know of: though there may be elsewhere finer scenes and passages of poetry"³ We learn from a letter addressed to F. J. Furnivall in the Yale collection of Tennyson papers that the poet was three years earlier engaged in a close scrutiny of Shakespeare's text and suggested the emendation:

Aldworth
Haslemere
Surrey

My dear Mr. Furnivall,

Has anyone suggested for the reading in the quarto
'grieved & sullied flesh'

i. e. *sullied* as it were thru the sin of the mother. 'Sollied' (tho' I know Shakespeare forged some strange words) seems too harsh to me. I suppose it is not used by any synchronous writer.

On the whole, I prefer 'solid.' 'Melt', 'resolve' correspond with it. 'Solid flesh' is only 'this weary weight of the flesh, would I were rid of it'

I may add that I have seen in my own unrevised proof sheets quite as uncouth misprints as 'sallied' for 'solid.'

Very truly

[The signature is cut off.]⁴

Louisiana State University

"SOLID" OR "SULLIED", AND ANOTHER QUERY

RICHARD FLATTER

I

For English-speaking people the problem whether Hamlet's flesh is "solid"

¹ *The Times Literary Supplement*, May 16, July 25, 1918.

² *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the Problems of Its Transmission* (Cambridge, 1934), II, 307.

³ *Memoir* (New York, 1897), II, 291.

⁴ Quoted with the permission of Yale University Library.

or "sullied" is restricted to the pronunciation of one vowel only. What, however, is the translator to do when, in rendering the play, he comes across that much disputed line? For him, the quality of Hamlet's flesh is a question to which he must give a clear answer; he cannot shirk the decision whether the flesh is "too solid" (zu fest) or "too sullied" (zu sehr beschmutzt).

When in 1936 I was working on my translation into German of *Hamlet*, I studied Professor Dover Wilson's books on *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet"* (1934) very carefully; contrary, however, to his conception I came to the conclusion that, although the text of Quarto 2 was certainly set up from the author's own script, it is the Folio text that must be regarded as the definitive version—a fact first of all shown by the theatrical cuts of its text as compared with the Q-text. Accordingly I translated the Folio version and put those passages to be found only in Q 2 into an Appendix. For me, therefore, the crucial word was "solid". Still, I felt somewhat uncertain. Dover Wilson's great authority seemed to me

. a step
On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies. . . .

—and I began to ask myself several questions.

In Professor Wilson's conception Hamlet is "thinking of snow begrimed with soot and dirt, as it often is in melting". Yet it is only his own emendation ("sullied" for "sallied" and "solid") that makes Wilson's suggestion conceivable; he himself says (p. 313) that "without the word 'sullied' there would be no clue at all to this". But surely it is our common conception that we are not allowed to take recourse to an emendation as long as the transmitted text can be shown to make sense?

Let us take it for a moment that Hamlet really thinks of snow when speaking of his flesh: is it the case that "sullied" snow melts more readily than "unsullied" snow? And yet, what Hamlet bewails is clearly the fact that his body is too . . . (what, has to be found out), so much so that it cannot melt. Now, what obstacle to its melting is the accidental circumstance that the snow has become dirty?

And why after all should Hamlet find that his flesh has become "sullied"? Wilson explains (p. 314): "His blood is tainted, his very flesh corrupted, by what his mother has done, since he is bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh." True, the son is part of his mother's flesh; but her dirt is not his dirt. We should more easily understand his feeling of being tainted, would he speak not of his body, but of his soul or mind. Gertrude, in III. iv. 89 f., speaks of her soul where she sees

. such black and grained spots
As will not leave their tinct. . . .

Her soul has become tainted: but why should her transgressions have made dirty her son's flesh?

Another argument of Professor Wilson's is his assertion that Burbadge "was becoming a stout party in 1601", and that he became "more and more portly" with each revival of the play, etc. (pp. 310 ff.). There is, however, no evidence

of whether Burbadge was plump or lean, be it in 1601 or later. There is only one picture, showing his head, his so-called self-portrait, and from this nothing can be deduced as to his weight and waist-band. Yet Professor Wilson invites us to imagine: "He raises his hand and, striking himself despairingly on the breast, he cries: 'O that this too too solid Flesh would melt!' Would not the whole house be convulsed with laughter, and the play completely ruined? Burbadge could never have uttered such a line." This argument, too, although supported by W. W. Greg, failed to convince me, based as it is on a gratuitous assumption only.

Now, however, turning from the negative to the positive part of the problem, the question is whether the Folio reading ("solid flesh") does indeed make sense. To begin with, what is it Hamlet, at the beginning of his soliloquy, wants to say? It might perhaps be paraphrased like this: "I wish I were dead. But alas! neither does human flesh melt away at its owner's desire, nor are we permitted to commit suicide. Against this, the Everlasting has fixed His canon, nor are we granted the benefit simply at wish to disappear from this earth: our body is too solid, otherwise we might thaw and resolve ourselves into a dew."

Now, then, the verb "to melt" has to be examined more closely: does it, in Elizabethan English, mean more than merely to become liquefied by heat? Was it also used in the sense of "to disappear from sight"? Dr. S. A. Weiss in his article "'Solid', 'Sullied' and Mutability" (*SQ*, X, 2) refers, as other scholars have done before him, to the passage in *2 Henry IV*, III.i.45 ff., where the king speaks of "the revolution of the times that makes mountains level" . . .

. . . and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea . . .

—the inference being that, if continents can "melt", human beings, so much smaller, may do so more easily still. Yet a strip of land, battered against by floods, rain and storm, may after all be said to "melt" into the ocean; what must be looked for is evidence that not only mountains and continents may "melt", but persons also.

In *A Valediction Forbidding Mourning* by John Donne we find: "So let us melt, and make no noise . . ."—and there are similar instances in contemporary literature. Yet of decisive importance can be instances from Shakespeare's own works only. There are at least three passages (strangely enough never quoted before): In *Venus and Adonis*, 1165 f, we find:

By this, the boy that by her side lay kill'd
Was melted like a vapour from her sight . . .

We have here the melting of a human body, resolving itself into a dew (vapour). In *The Tempest* IV.i. 148 ff.:

These our actors
(As I foretold you) were all spirits and
Are melted into air, into thin air.

And in *Pericles* V. iii. 41 ff., the hero, reunited with his wife, exclaims, addressing the gods:

you shall do well,
That on the touching of her lips I may
Melt and no more be seen.

With those passages before our eyes we cannot but agree, I think, with Dr. Weiss's suggestion that the dispute about that emendation should now definitely be settled in favor of "the only meaningful and Shakespearian reading: *solid flesh*".

II

Later, when his book *What Happens in "Hamlet"* appeared, Professor Wilson made me doubtful about yet another passage of my translation. He maintains (on p. 134) that "nunnery" was "in common Elizabethan use a cant term for a house of ill-fame". I had sent Ophelia to a "Kloster", as Schlegel and others have done before me. Now I was told that what Hamlet had in mind was something different. But why, I asked myself, should he send her to a brothel? In his antic disposition, enhanced by his grievous disappointment at recognizing that she has joined his enemies, he works himself up into a passion. He cries out against marriage, against getting children, mankind should die out: that is why he wishes her to go to a nunnery. Why should he wish her to enter a bawdy-house? There is after all a difference between living unmarried and being a prostitute.

But then (p. 103) Wilson says: "Hamlet treats Ophelia like a prostitute; and the only possible defence for him is to show that he had grounds for so doing." The only relevant passage Wilson may have had in mind is that in III. 2, where Hamlet, excitedly waiting for the beginning of the play-within-the-play, indulges in foul language when talking to Ophelia, doing so in front of the whole court. Yet on this occasion, more than on any other (because he has to think of his safety) he must play the madman, and madness is allowed, even expected, to use obscene language. Ophelia, in her genuine madness, does much the same, singing indecent songs.

The only instance quoted by Wilson in support of his assertion is a dialogue in Fletcher's *Mad Lover*: "There's an old nunnery at hand.—What's that?—A bawdy-house." The passage is far from convincing; on the contrary, it rather shows that "nunnery" for brothel was *not* a commonly known term; otherwise the second person would not ask "What's that?" and wait for the explanation, but would understand the implied meaning at once. Nowhere in Shakespeare is there any parallel, and we may be sure that he would have used the word had it really been "in common Elizabethan use". In Eric Partridge's book on *Shakespeare's Bawdy* the term "nunnery" does not occur at all.

Here again I did not alter my translation; now as before I am sending Ophelia to a "Kloster".

Vienna

JOHN WARD AND RESTORATION DRAMA

A. L. D. KENNEDY-SKIPTON

There are two passages in the note books of John Ward which may be of interest to students of the Restoration drama—the one relating to the revels

held in 1662 at Lincoln's Inn and the other to a performance of *The Alchemist*. Both John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys mention having seen the revels of the Prince de la Grange at Lincoln's Inn, Evelyn on January 1, Pepys on January 3. John Ward saw them on January 6.

January the 6 [1661/62]

I saw a Leopard and the same day as strange a sight which was the mock prince of Lincolnes Inne his Nobles his Knights of the Garter and his other officers.

(Folger MS, V. a. 291).

The other passage was printed by Charles Severn in his partial edition of *The Diary of the Rev. John Ward* (1839) but is little known. R. G. Noyes, in *Ben Jonson on the English Stage, 1660-1776* (1935), mentions performances of *The Alchemist* by the King's Players at the King's Theatre in 1662 and, though Ward's entry is not dated, its place in the volume suggests it was entered sometime in 1662 before September. The part of the "doctor"—Subtle—as in May 1663 (Noyes, *ibid.*) was probably played by Wintershal; that of the "puritan"—Tribulation—by Bateman.

[1662]

I saw Ben Jhonsons play called the Alchimist acted in which 2 parts were acted wel, the Doctor and the puritan, the later incomparably att the play house which is the Kings betwixt Lincolns Inne fields and Vere street.

(Folger MS, V. a. 292).

Ward is best known as the writer of the only account of Shakespeare's death (see *Shakespeare Quarterly*, VIII, 460, 520, 526 and 553 for reproductions of the Shakespearian items in his note books). He was born in 1629, took his M.A. at the University of Oxford in 1652, and became vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in 1662. He was licensed to practise medicine by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1666 and about 1668 was appointed rector of Dorsington in Gloucestershire while keeping his incumbency of Stratford. He died in 1681. The picture of the man which emerges from the note books is that of a person of strong beliefs and determination. For a long time he had wanted when a clergyman to practise medicine and consequently after obtaining his M.A. we find him trying to acquire as diverse a knowledge of medicine as he could. No opening was left unexplored in this quest; he was continually reminding himself of the need to look further into some question, to meet some person, to visit a particular physic garden, to read a certain book, and it was in this spirit that, while in London, he went to see *The Alchemist* and made a note of the leopard and incidentally of the revels. With this exception, he does not seem to have considered the theatre as a likely source of information. Later as the vicar of Stratford he displayed the same anxiety to fulfill his role, systematically setting out to familiarize himself with its history and the details of its parochial affairs and making the acquaintance of its more substantial citizens. It is this attitude which makes his comments so invaluable. They are completely disinterested.

Folger Shakespeare Library

HAWKS AND HANDSAWS

PHILIP DREW

"I am but mad North, North-West: when the Winde is Southerly, I knowe a Hawke from a Handsaw." *Hamlet* II. ii.

The meaning of "handsaw" in this passage has been much disputed between those who take "hawk" as a builder's tool and "handsaw" consequently as a tool also, and those who take "hawk" as a bird and "handsaw" as a conjectural variant of "heronshaw", a young heron.¹ If it could be shown certainly that "handsaw" occurred elsewhere as a form of "heronshaw" the case for the second view would be extremely strong. Failing this it may be pertinent to cite a passage in which hawks and heronshaws are both mentioned and their natural opposition emphasized.

It comes from an early English translation of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*. Two editions (1572 and 1574) of the translation are to be found in the Library of the British Museum under the title of *A Briefe Collection out of Sebastian Munster*.²

In 1574, fol. 18, the following passage occurs.

The Hernesewe is a Fowle that lyveth of the water, and yet she doth abhorre raine and tempestes, in so much that shee seeketh to auoyde them by flying on high. She hath her nest in verie high trees, and sheweth as it were a naturall hatred against the Gossehauke and other kinds of haukes, as the hauke cōtrariwyse seeketh her destruction continuallye: when they fight aboue in the ayre, they labour both especially for this one thing, that the one might ascend and be aboue the other, if ye hauke getteth the vpper place he ouerthroweth and vanquisheth the Hernsewe with a marueylous earnest flighte, but if the Hernesewe get aboue the hauke, then with his dunge hee defileth the hauke and so destroyeth him, for his dunge is a poyso to the hauke and his feathers do putrifye and rotte after it.

1572 (fol. 18) has the same story in the same words but with different spelling. The most notable variant is the form "Hernesew".

The equivalent passage in the Latin version of Münster published in Basle in 1572 is to be found in chapter 357 of Book Three (p. 761).

Glasgow University

SHAKESPEARE AND ARNOLD'S "DOVER BEACH"

NICHOLAS A. SALERNO

Considering Matthew Arnold's extravagant praise of Shakespeare in his famous sonnet to the Bard, it is interesting to note a marked similarity in phrasing and thought between a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* and Arnold's "Dover Beach". In Act IV, Scene xv of Shakespeare's epic tragedy, the Egyp-

¹ Readers of Flora Thompson will remember also the anonymous scholar who wished to emend the passage to "I know a hawk from a heron, pshaw!" (*Lark Rise*, VI).

² The two editions differ only in matters of spelling and pagination. 1574 has also at the end two sheets which are missing from 1572.

tian queen is told that Antony has fallen on his sword and will soon die. Cleopatra exclaims:

O sun,
Burn the great sphere thou mov'st in! darkling stand
The varying shore o' the world.

Her words seem to mean that all coherence in life is gone, that the world is a world of darkness, and that nothing of value remains for her now that her love affair with Antony has ended.

This, of course, is basically the same theme that Arnold expresses in "Dover Beach": that love alone provides stability and permanence; that in a world with neither certitude, nor peace, nor help from pain, all that remains is to "be true to one another". However, what makes this similarity of thought more striking is the similarity of imagery and diction. Just as Cleopatra speaks of "the shore o' the world," the dominant picture in Arnold's poem is that of the sea beating on the shore of the world. Furthermore, both poets describe this world as "darkling"; and Shakespeare calls it "varying", while Arnold labels it "various." Thus, it may be that Arnold found the passage from *Antony and Cleopatra* particularly memorable, and later revised and fashioned it for his own purposes, making it an integral part of one of the best poems of the Victorian age.

Stanford University

Notes and Comments

ILLUSTRATIONS

The *Frontispiece* is an example of the ruthless cartoons published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by partisans in theatrical (and political) warfare. Charles Macklin (?1697-1797), who had taken London by storm with his return to Shakespeare in the role of Shylock on 14 February 1741, fell into disfavor and was dismissed by the management of Drury Lane after an uproar by the audience. The anonymous, undated cartoon may have been published at this time. The cover and page of text reproduced on p. 426 show what a player's part (Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*) looked like near the end of the eighteenth century. William Ward was a member of a traveling company of actors. Three other player's parts are shown on pages 454, 460, and 466.

A NEW COPY OF HAMLET Q 2

A hitherto unknown copy of the second quarto of *Hamlet* (1605) has been found in Poland. Professor Witold Chwalewik reports the discovery and identification of the play in the current number of *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny*, VII, 104, the publication of the Polish Academy of Philology. Early in the seventeenth century it was deposited in the library of the Convent of Mary Magdalene, Warsaw. From thence it migrated to the Warsaw City Library, where it was listed in the manuscript catalogue. Professor Juliusz Krzyzanowski published a notice of it in 1950 without bibliographical details; and in 1954 it was included in a public exhibition, where it was mistakenly called a reprint of the 1604/5 edition. Because it has been little used, it is in practically mint condition. In the same volume are copies of Lyly's *Euphues*, 2 parts (1606), Greene's *Menaphon* (1605), and Lodge's *Rosalind* (1604), all very rare books. The volume has been transferred to the University of Warsaw Library. Professor Chwalewik is now completing a book about the play and is reading currently at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL LIBRARY, BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. V. H. Woods, of the City of Birmingham Public Libraries, contains the information that the Shakespeare Memorial Library now has translations of Shakespeare into 74 languages. Of the 711 volumes in this subject added during 1958-59, 1959-60, 140 are in the following foreign languages:

Albanian, Armenian, Bengali, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Flemish, French, Georgian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Lithuanian, Marathi, Norwegian, Punjabi, Roumanian, Russian,

Spanish, Swedish, Tatar, Turkish, Ukrainian and Xhosa.
The Library now contains 36,000 volumes of Shakespeariana.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Nearing the completion of its 1959-60 season, the Shakespeare Society of Washington, D. C., elected Mr. Sydney Warren Murray to the presidency, succeeding the late Captain Van Natter. Other officers are: Miss Elizabeth R. Water, Vice President; Mrs. Jean A. Stanton, Secretary; Mr. Richard S. Murray, Treasurer; Mr. Anthony Da Vinci, Miss Freya Hogue, Mr. Carl W. Zanner, Miss Ella A. Merritt, and Mr. William H. Stanton, Executive Board.

THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY

At its seventy-first annual reception and dinner celebrating the 396th anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare, the Shakespeare Club of New York City honored Dr. John H. H. Lyon, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University and Honorary President of the Shakespeare Club of New York City. Other guests of honor were Mr. and Mrs. Michael Flanders. The meeting was held, as usual, at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park South.

Correspondence

Sir:

Mr. David C. Mearns, in his review of Harkness and McMurtry's *Lincoln's Favorite Poets*,¹ misses the point. He boldly states that Lincoln read Shakespeare for "elegant and mouthable extracts", that the "untutored parvenu of the Prairies" memorized speeches merely "to adorn his public utterances and private speeches." This view is based on the modern concept of art for art's sake; Lincoln read his Shakespeare (and other poets) as did earlier generations including the Tudors: history and literature were still a sermon, a fact that cannot be overemphasized—witness Sidney's "teach delightfully". As Lord Charnwood observes in his *Lincoln*, a masterly work of deep insights now the fashion to belittle, the Bible and Shakespeare were the very web and woof of Lincoln's thought and style. It is good to see (the Illinois State Historical Society in its splendid work at New Salem failed to stress the importance) that Harkness and McMurtry honor Jack Kelso; it was this so-called ne'er-do-well who fired the genius of the young Lincoln, inspired him with a love of poets including Shakespeare. On "the five greatest personalities of all times: Jesus Christ, Aristotle, Galileo, Shakespeare and Lincoln" (names engraved on the walls of the Memorial Union at Indiana University), Mr. Mearns comments: "Mr. Lincoln would be startled by the association." What is his point? Mr. Henry Allen Moe, head of the Guggenheim Foundation, makes some pointed remarks on the way the humanities are being taught in some quarters (*PMLA*, May, 1959). Those engaged in the teaching of literature might well ponder his criticism.

The State University of Iowa

E. P. KUHLM

Sir:

I have read with interest and perplexity Professor Kuhl's commentary on my review of *Lincoln's Favorite Poets*. Perhaps it is he who has missed the point. I did not say that Mr. Lincoln used "the elegant and mouthable extracts" first encountered in Scott's *Lessons in Elocution* "merely" (the word is Professor Kuhl's) to adorn his public utterances. But he did, to the best of my knowledge and understanding, use them. Does Professor Kuhl claim that he did not?

As for my statement that Mr. Lincoln would be startled by the association of his name with the names of four other personalities on the walls at the University of Indiana, I stand by it. Mr. Lincoln was persistently a modest man, quite unconscious of his impress upon the world. But I did not say that he would be justified in being startled by admission to such a company. In my own opinion he is entirely eligible.

The Library of Congress

DAVID C. MEARNS

¹ *SQ*, XI, 222 (Spring 1960).

Contributors

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